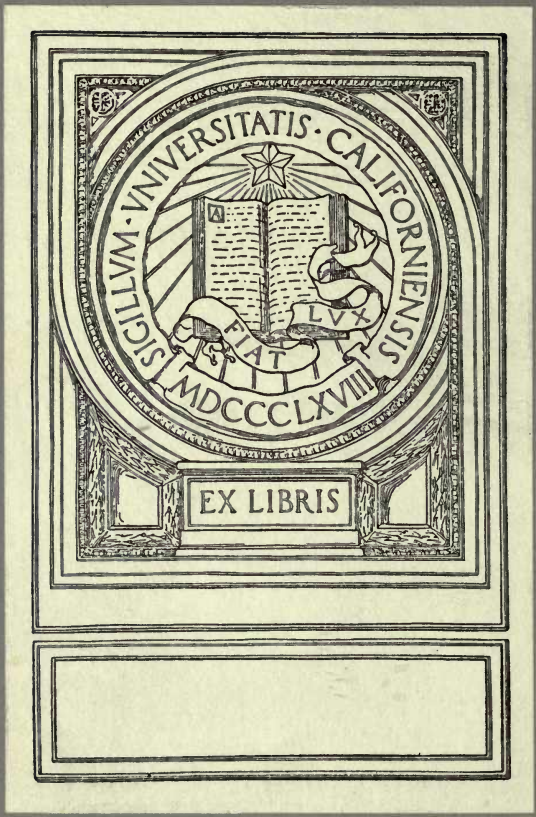


Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Digitized for Microsoft Corporation
by the Internet Archive in 2007.
From University of California Libraries.
May be used for non-commercial, personal, research,
or educational purposes, or any fair use.
May not be indexed in a commercial service.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

TRÜBNER'S

ORIENTAL SERIES.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ;

OR,

THE SACRED LAY.

A SANSKRIT PHILOSOPHICAL POEM.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,

BY

JOHN DAVIES, M.A. (CANTAB.)

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ETC., AND (SOMETIME) RECTOR OF WALSOKEN, NORFOLK.

THIRD EDITION.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO. LTD

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD.

1893.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

730
M214
bEd

R SE
R

The rights of translation and of reproduction are reserved.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

BL 1138
.62
E5
1993
MAIN

CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

TRANSLATION :—

READING

I. THE DESPONDENCY OF ARJUNA. 19

II. THE SĀNKHYA-YOGA (DOCTRINE) 32

III. DEVOTION BY WORK 47

IV. THE DEVOTION OF KNOWLEDGE. 58

V. DEVOTION BY RENOUNCING WORKS 68

VI. DEVOTION BY SELF-RESTRAINT 75

VII. DEVOTION THROUGH SPIRITUAL DISCERNMENT . . 86

VIII. DEVOTION TO THE SUPREME ETERNAL BRAHMA . 94

IX. DEVOTION THROUGH THE ROYAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE ROYAL MYSTERY 102

X. DEVOTION BY THE DIVINE PERFECTIONS . . . 110

XI. THE MANIFESTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL FORM . 120

XII. THE DEVOTION OF WORSHIP 131

XIII. DEVOTION BY THE SEPARATION OF MATTER AND SPIRIT 136

XIV. DEVOTION BY SEPARATION FROM THE THREE MODES 144

XV. DEVOTION IN ATTAINING TO THE HIGHEST BEING . 150

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®
136154

READING PAGE

XVI. DEVOTION WITH REGARD TO THE SEPARATE STATE OF GODS AND ASURAS 155

XVII. DEVOTION BY THE THREEFOLD KINDS OF FAITH . 161

XVIII. DEVOTION IN DELIVERANCE AND RENUNCIATION . 168

APPENDIX.

I. ON THE DATE AT WHICH THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ WAS PROBABLY WRITTEN, AND ON THE THEORY THAT IT WAS WRITTEN UNDER AN INFLUENCE DERIVED FROM A KNOWLEDGE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES . . . 181

II. THE TRADITIONARY LINE OF DESCENT OF THE LUNAR DYNASTY 202

III. COLLATION OF TWO MSS. WITH THE BONN EDITION OF THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ, AND THE READINGS OF OTHER EDITIONS AND MSS. 204

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTION.

THE Bhagavad Gītā is a poem, written in the usual verse-form of the Hindū epic poems, and is an episode in the sixth book, or Bhīshma Parvan, of the Mahābhārata, an epic poem devoted mainly to the deeds of the rival princes, who, though descended from a common ancestor, Kuru, fought as Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas for the kingdom of which Hastināpura was the capital. The facts which preceded the opening scene of the poem are briefly these:— Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu, the sons of Vyāsa, were brought up, after the death of their father, by their uncle Bhīshma, who carried on, in their minority, the government of Hastināpura. Dhṛitarāshṭra was the first-born, but being blind, he renounced the kingdom in favour of Pāṇḍu. The former married Gāndhārī, daughter of Subala, king of Gāndhāra, and had one hundred sons, of whom Duryodhana was the eldest. Pāṇḍu married Kuntī, also called Pṛithā, the daughter of a Yadava prince, Sūra, who gave her in charge to his childless cousin, Kuntibhoja. She bore three sons, Yudishṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna; the eldest (Yudishṭhira), being born before Duryodhana, was installed by Dhṛitarāshṭra as Yuvarāja, or heir-apparent,[1]

[1] Other traditions represent that a compromise was subsequently made, by which the kingdom of Hastināpura was given to the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and to Yudhishṭhira was given a territory of which Indraprastha, on the river Yamunā, was the capital.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

and soon distinguished himself by his warlike exploits, in which his brothers assisted him. The renown which the Pāṇḍu princes acquired excited in Dhṛitarāshṭra and his son Duryodhana a jealous desire to supplant them. The latter formed a plan to destroy them by setting fire to their house, and to obtain the throne for himself. This plan failed, and then he plotted with a skilful dice-player, called Śakuni, to take advantage of Yudishṭhira's love of gambling, and by leading him to stake his kingdom, to win it from him.

Dhṛitarāshṭra was induced to call an assembly (sabhā) at Hastināpura, which the Pāṇḍavas were invited to attend. They came, and Duryodhana persuaded Yudishṭhira to play with Śakuni. He consented, and in the excitement of the game he staked successively his kingdom, his private possessions, and then his wife, Draupadī. He lost them all, and Draupadī was seized, and treated with great indignity as a slave. A compromise was, however, made: Duryodhana was to have the kingdom for twelve years, and during this time the five Pāṇḍavas (including two sons, Nakula and Sahadeva, whose mother was Madrī) were to live in exile. When the time of exile had expired, they determined to regain their kingdom by force; for Duryodhana, who is represented as being crafty and unprincipled, refused to restore it. Each party made preparations for the contest, and sought to gain allies among the neighbouring kings. A large army was collected by each, the army of Duryodhana being commanded by his great-uncle Bhīshma, and that of the Pāṇḍavas by Bhīma, the second son of Pāṇḍu and Kuntī. The two armies met on the sacred plain, the plain of the Kurus, and were drawn up in array against each other.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

It is at this point that our poem begins. Arjuna occupies his war-chariot as one of the leaders of the Pāṇḍavan host, and Kṛishṇa, disguised in human form, is his sūta, or charioteer. Then, looking upon the two hosts, in each of which he had many relatives, the fortitude of Arjuna gave way. He directed his charioteer to drive between the two armies, that he might regard them more closely. Kṛishṇa obeyed the command, and Arjuna, overcome by pity and sorrow at the idea of killing his kinsmen, let fall his bow and arrow, and refused to fight.

Here the first book closes, and Kṛishṇa, who makes himself known at length as the Supreme Spirit (*Paramātman*), meets the objections of Arjuna by unfolding a philosophical system, which is a skilful union of the systems of Kapila and Patanjali, with a large admixture of the prevailing Brāhmanic doctrines.

Its base is the theistic form of the Sānkhya, as set forth by Patanjali, and this treats mainly of the One Supreme Being, eternal, infinite, the source and maintainer of all things, in whom all things are from time to time absorbed at the end of a *kalpa*, or period of creation; and of man, compounded of soul and body, whose highest state is a profound abstraction from all external things and union by meditation (*yoga*) with the Supreme. This is completed for ever by *nirvāṇa*, or absorption into the very nature of Brahma, as a drop of water is absorbed or lost in the sea. In the Bhagavad Gītā the Supreme Being is represented under five different forms or manifestations of being:—(1.) As *Adhyātman*, or Supreme Spirit: this spiritual essence is his proper nature (*swabhāva*). In his relation to gods and men he is (2.) the Supreme Deity (*Adhidaiva*), as being both their origin and their ruler.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Of the existing kosmos, including men and mere forms of matter, he is (3.) the Indivisible (*Akshara*), the living energy which animates all living things, in which form he is sometimes called *Jīvabhūta*, the Principle of Life; and (4.) the Divisible (*Kshara*), the limited and various forms or individualities of men and things. Lastly, as the object and cause of religion, he is called (5.) the Lord of Sacrifice (*Adhiyajna*), and in this respect he is incarnated as Kṛishṇa, since it is difficult for flesh-encumbered mortals to rise to the conception and worship of a purely spiritual being (viii. 3, 4). As the Supreme Deity, *Adhidaiva*, he is also called *Purusha*, which means both soul and a male being, for in this form he is the creator of gods and men.

This is a wide departure from the system of Kapila, who limited his speculations to the visible world, and what might be inferred by human reason, or known by the facts of consciousness. Like Fichte, he held apparently that man can know nothing above himself by any mental effort of his own, and can therefore have no direct knowledge of God. Sacrifice and religious worship found, therefore, no place in his system, or if it was accepted for some reason apart from his system, it was subordinate in itself and its results to philosophical knowledge. The author of the Gītā takes a wholly different position on the question of a Supreme Being, and approaches more nearly the Vedāntist system; but yet he differs very widely from the commonly received doctrines and ritual. In his view the Supreme Being is One, without a rival, without such attributes as were assigned to the gods in the popular belief, and unstained by any of their passions or vices. From whatever source his ideas were derived, whether

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

from some knowledge which came from a system lying wholly apart from the Hindū creed, or from the working of his own mind, he rose here to a height of conception far beyond the level of his age or his race. The unity of the divine nature was not wholly unknown to the Hindū mind, but practically this idea was buried under a mass of ritual, whose offices were assigned to many gods, of varying degrees of power and goodness. The One Supreme Spirit appears, indeed, incarnate as Kṛishṇa, and here our author's Brahmanic training appears; but in his proper spiritual nature he is "the supreme Brahmă, the supreme abode, the highest purification (the holiest of the holy, *Telang*), the Eternal Creative Power (*Purusha*), Divine, the Lord of Gods, Unborn, the mighty Lord (*Vibhu*)" (x. 12). He is the source of all things, whether spirit or matter, the efficient and material cause of the whole universe. Here our author comes very near the pure Pantheism of the common Hindū creed. All souls are a part of Brahma's spiritual nature, individuated by their connection with bodily forms; but yet, having issued from him, they return, at least in their highest state, to him, to be absorbed in his infinite being. The existence and the immortality of the soul are asserted as truths which could be denied only by narrow-minded worldlings, in whom the pleasures of the senses had dulled every nobler faculty. The soul never began to be; it can never die, nor can it ever grow old (ii. 12, 13). At the death of the body, which is only the soul's fleshly covering, it enters into a new body. Taking with it the subtle body (*linga*), a surrounding frame composed of the subtler forms of matter, with this it enters another womb, where only the coarser animal frame is developed. This latter utterly perishes when the soul

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

abandons it. The doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, is therefore distinctly taught. It is a doctrine which, more than any other, has gained a general acceptance in Eastern countries: it belongs equally to the system of Kapila and the most advanced Vedāntist school.

The Supreme Being is also the source of all material existences (x. 2, xiv. 3). In his exposition of this doctrine our author differs widely from the Sānkhya system, and from the Mīmānsā or Vedāntist view. Kapila taught that Prakṛiti (Nature) was the material source of all beings or corporeal forms; soul being entirely distinct and eternal both as to the future and the past. In the Vedāntist school all bodily forms or material existences are mere illusion (*māyā*); a temporary appearance, like an image of the moon in water, with which it has pleased the One Sole Being to veil for a time his purely spiritual nature. The watchword of this school is *adwaita*, or "non-dualism." Its creed is simplicity itself. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad (iii. 14) it is thus expressed: "All the universe is Brahmā; from him it proceeds; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes." It is comprised in the simple formula, *Ekam evādwitīyam*, "One thing (essence) only, without a second." There is therefore properly neither cause nor effect. All that exists, or that seems to exist, is only Brahma. The difficult, or rather the impossible, problem of the origin of matter and of existing forms is set aside by a mere negation of matter, the only existence being the One Eternal Spirit. Here is a doctrine which lies in the absolutely opposite pole to that of many modern scientists, who can see in the varied forms of existence, and in the will, the intellect, and the affections of men, only different phases of matter. The system

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

of our author, however, did not accord with any of these. In his view, Prakṛiti, or material Nature, was a part of the Supreme Being, in whom there was a duality in this respect, Prakṛiti being his lower nature. The term which Kapila applied to primeval matter, the ὕλη of the Greeks —*Avyakta*, the Unmanifested or Undeveloped—is assigned to this element of the divine nature (ix. 4); hence all things are said to be from him (x. 8); all things are said to be in him, but he is not in them, *i.e.*, as a spiritual being; in that which gives him his peculiar name he is not in them.

He is, however, in all as the Principle of Life (*jīvabhūta*), the living energy by which all beings are animated (vii. 5); the undivided spiritual force which corresponds to the *anima mundi* of Western philosophers. Hence there are said to be two spiritual existences (*purusha*) in the world, the Divided, or the individual soul in each body, and the Undivided, the universal, vital principle referred to. "But," it is added, "there is another Spirit (*purusha*), the Highest, called the Supreme Soul" (*paramātman*); and Kṛishṇa, speaking as of this Supreme Being, continues: "Wherefore, since I surpass the Divided and am above the Undivided, I am called in the world and in the Vedas the Highest Spirit" (*purushottama*) (xv. 13, 17, 18). The Vedāntist, who admits only one existence, affirms that the Jīvabhūta, or Principle of Life, and the Paramātman, or Supreme Spirit, are absolutely one and the same; for the whole phenomenal world, and that which animates it, are only manifestations, and, with regard to phenomena, illusive manifestations, of the One Being. The Vedāntist doctrine of illusion (*māyā*), which denies all true reality to the phenomenal world, is of late introduction. The

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

word appears in the Gītā, but not in the Vedāntist sense. The outer world is an illusion, not because it has no real existence, but because it veils the Spiritual Being who pervades all things; and men are thus deluded so far as to maintain that nothing exists except that which meets the senses. "I am not manifest to every one," Kṛishṇa says, "being enveloped by my mystic illusion. This deluded world does not recognise Me, the Unborn and Eternal" (vii. 25).

This Supreme Spirit is, then, the source of all existences, whether spiritual or material; they are portions of himself, but they are separate existences for the present, being divided by the limits of corporeal existence. All souls are from him, and their highest happiness is to be reabsorbed into his essence. How, then, can this great blessing, this highest of all blessings, be obtained? Here, in answering this question, the method of our author is, in the main, that of Patanjali; differing from Kapila, who taught that the soul gained an eternal deliverance from matter by gaining a knowledge of itself, in knowing both soul and matter; and from the common Vedāntist view, in giving an objective reality to material forms, and thus making the separation of the imprisoned soul more distinctly expressed. The Vedāntist, however, is compelled to speak of bodily forms as if they were realities. In the Ātmabodha (Knowledge of the Soul), attributed to Śaṅkara, the soul is spoken of as being enveloped in five investing sheaths, and as being divested of them "by force of meditation."[1] Here the writer seems to be influenced by the system of the Bhagavad Gītā, and a commentary on the book is ascribed to him; but the

[1] Indian Wisdom, p. 120.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

common Hindū idea of gaining any blessing is by sacrifice and ritual. Though Brāhmans speak of deliverance (*moksha*), it is difficult to give a consistent meaning to the word, for the phenomenal world only exists in appearance, and every soul is even now absolutely one with, or part of, the One sole Existence. In the system of Patanjali, the union of the soul with the Supreme is the result of long-continued pious meditation. An elaborate system of rules is provided, by which the passions may be subdued, the soul may be kept in a state of complete indifference with regard to external things, and fixed in meditation on the Supreme. A very exalted idea, but too high for human nature to carry out to perfection. Yet it was supposed that a state might be attained even here in which the soul would rise above the control or the limitations of the body, and become, in a certain sense, incorporeal (*videha*). Our author had evidently been trained in the school of Patanjali, or had studied his system with admiration. His own views of the nature and powers of the soul are very elevated, and are grandly expressed (c. ii.) The soul is immortal; it is capable of rising to communion with God; its highest state is to enjoy that communion; its proper destiny is to return to that eternal source from which it sprung and be lost in Him. The man who leaves even his wife and children and goes as a recluse (*muni*) to the recesses of a forest, that in silence and solitude he may meditate on the Supreme with unfailing devotion, has attained to the highest state of man. But it is evident that this overstrained ideality is not suited to the mass of mankind, and that it is incompatible with the duties that our several relationships bring upon us. It is an idea, an aspiration,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

that has fascinated many noble minds, without the pale of the Christian Church as well as within it. But in India, as in Europe, the attempt to rise above our human nature has resulted only in failure. The Yogin, or devotee, became a mere hypocrite or charlatan, leading an idle life, and supporting himself by a useless show of religious austerities or by more immoral devices. This result seems to have been manifest in our author's time. The true system of *yoga* had been lost, and must be revived. But the disciple differed from his master in one important point. He saw that the pure abstraction of a religious devotee was not possible for all men, and that it was opposed to the just claims of family and caste. He contended still that mental devotion (*buddhiyoga*) was the best, but that devotion by work (*karmayoga*) might also lead to the great blessing of *nirvāṇa*.

But all work must be done without "attachment" (the Sanskrit term *sanga* having the same double meaning as this word), that is, it must be done simply as duty, without any emotion, with indifference to all attendant circumstances, and especially without any desire for reward (*phala*, fruit). To do even religious acts in the hope of gaining heaven,[1] even the heaven of Indra, bound the soul still to the prison of the body in successive births. Its highest destiny, absorption into the Supreme Being, might be gained, or at least promoted, by works, but the necessary condition of such works was their absolute freedom from all selfish hope of gain. If done in this spirit, then action was even laudable, especially such action as was

[1] The ecclesiastic student will see a parallel to this doctrine in the teaching of the Quietist school, represented by Molinos and Madame Guyon, which taught that the incentive to a godly life should not be the hope of heaven, but the pure love of God.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

required by the particular caste to which a man might belong. It was the duty, therefore, of his hero, Arjuna, to fight, for he was of the Kshatriya or warrior caste, and this duty is enforced by much ingenious casuistry, by which renunciation (of works: *sannyāsa*) is reconciled with devotion by work (*karmayoga*), which is done by renouncing all the "fruit" of works. This kind of renunciation is called *tyāga* (forsaking). Works done in this spirit of absolute indifference to all external things might lead to the great blessing of *nirvāṇa;* but if done from any desire of gain, they were imperfect, and could only lead to a temporary abode in one of the heavens of the gods, however good or useful they might be relatively. But though works are so far admitted into his system, the highest state below is that of perfect repose, with constancy in meditating on the Supreme; and his highest type of man is the recluse (*muni*), taking up a solitary resting-place far from the haunts of men, renouncing all the blessings of this world, and even hope itself, holding the mind in check until thought ceases, and thus waiting in pious abstraction for the happy hour when he will be absorbed into the infinite Brahma.

The material world was not, however, ignored by our author as an object of speculation. In treating of physics he adopts the system of Kapila, which has been generally adopted or acquiesced in by Hindū writers, though of different schools of thought in other respects. In the Sānkhya system,[1] Prakṛiti, or primordial matter, is assumed as the source of all material things: it is eternal, both as

[1] For a fuller account of this system I must refer my readers to a translation, with notes, of the Sānkhya Kārikā, in this series of Oriental works.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

to the past and the future; uncreated, and having in itself a potentiality of issuing forth and forming all material existences. It is acted upon unconsciously by a desire or purpose to set soul free from all contact with matter, that the former may know no longer the pains of this mortal life, by regaining its primal state of unconscious repose. This primal matter has three constituent elements, called *guṇas* or threads, which are (1.) *Sattwa* (goodness), which is of a fine and elastic nature; (2.) *Rajas* (passion), the element of motion, active and restless, of which things animate (except the gods) are chiefly formed; and (3.) *Tamas* (darkness), the source of inanimate things and of stupidity and delusion. Nature, when undeveloped, is called *Avyakta* (unmanifested), and *Vyakta* (manifested) when developed in the manifold forms of the existing world. The nature and excellence of these forms depend on the nature of the *guṇa* that prevails in it, and the manner in which each may be modified by the other.

The first production of Nature is (1.) *Buddhi* (intellect), which is the first link in the chain of agencies by which the soul becomes cognisant of the external world; (2.) *Ahankāra* (consciousness), the seat of our sense of being or self-consciousness. From *Ahankāra* (which corresponds to the "mind-stuff" of Professor Clifford) proceed (3.) the five subtle elements (*tanmātra*), which underlie (4.) the five gross elements (*mahābhūta*). The former bear the technical names of sound, tangibleness, odour, visibleness, and taste. The gross elements are ether (*ākāśa*), connected with the subtle element called sound; air (*vāyu*), from the element tangibleness; earth, from the element called smell; light or fire, from the element visibility, and water from that of taste. From *Ahankāra* proceed

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the five senses (*indriya*—both the faculty and the bodily organ), which are the senses of hearing, touching, smelling, seeing, and tasting; and the five organs of action, the voice, the hands, the feet, and the organs of excretion and generation. A third internal faculty, called *manas*, is usually placed, in the order of enumeration, after the senses and the bodily organs, from its connection with them. It is the faculty by which the sensations are individually received and formed into concepts of a primary form: these are transmitted to consciousness (*Ahankāra*), by which they come into a clear, conscious state, as into the light, and then they are borne to intellect (*Buddhi*), by which they are formed into complete conceptions, which the soul sees as in a mirror, and thus becomes cognisant of an external world. The *manas*, as the seat of sensibility, is supposed to be also the seat of our passions or emotions; for the soul never acts: it is a pure light, existing in and for itself; it knows nothing of those desires that men have for earthly enjoyments, for these are as purely material as the objects of desire.

These twenty-three products are the whole of the Vyakta, or matter in a manifest, developed form, and, with the opposite natures of *Prakṛiti* (primal matter) and Soul (*Ātman*) form the twenty-five principles of the Sānkhya system. The physical theory of Kapila had an extensive influence on Hindū modes of thought, being found in such different works as the Institutes of Manu, the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, and the Purāṇas. Parts of it were incorporated into other systems, in which Prakṛiti (Nature) occupies a subordinate position.

In the Sānkhya system the soul is invested with a *linga*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

or subtle body,[1] formed of the three internal organs, Intellect (*buddhi*), Consciousness (*ahankāra*), and the *Manas* or receptive faculty and seat of desires, with the five subtle elements. This is peculiar to each soul, and forms the distinct disposition (*bhāva*), the separate nature of each individual. It accompanies the soul in its successive transmigrations to other bodies until a final separation from matter has been obtained; (by knowledge, according to Kapila; by pious meditation, according to Patanjali); and then the *linga* is absorbed for ever in the primal matter (*Prakṛiti*) from which it sprung;[2] the only source of existing things, according to the Sānkhya school.

Another part, and one that is obscure, in this system, is

[1] Sometimes this subtle body is called the *linga-śarira* (linga-body), and at other times the *linga* and the *linga-śarira* are distinguished; but this, I think, is a late refinement. In the Atmā-bodha (soul-knowledge) the soul is said to be invested in five cases or sheaths (*kośa*). The three interior cases which are (1.) *Vijnāna-maya* (mere Intellection), (2.) *Mano-maya* (mere Manas), and (3.) *Prāṇa-maya* (only breath or the vital airs), form the subtle body.

[2] The *linga* is referred to in c. xv. 7, 8. That which the soul takes with it on leaving a gross body is this permanent subtle body; not, as Mr. Thomson asserts, by the soul's connecting the senses with itself, that it may know: the reference is not to the soul's knowledge of matter, but to its ὄχημα or vehicle. This idea of a subtle body is not peculiar to Kapila. St. Paul speaks of a "spiritual body," and Sir H. Davy has a theory on this subject not unlike that of the Sānkhya school. "It does not appear improbable to me that some of the more refined machinery of thought may adhere, even in another state, to the sentient principle; for though the organs of gross sensation, the nerves and the brain, are destroyed by death, yet something of the more etherial nature, which I have supposed, may be less destructible. And, I sometimes imagine, that many of those powers, which have been called instinctive, belong to the more refined clothing of the spirit: conscience, indeed, seems to have some undefined source, and may bear relation to a former state of being" (Last Days of a Philosopher, p. 215). Here there is not only the assumption of a *linga*, but also a suggestion that it may be affected by the events of a former life, as Kapila taught. (See the translation of the Sānkhya Kārikā in this series, p. 89.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

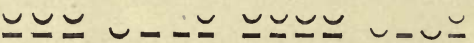
the theory of vital airs, which are supposed to dwell in the body, and to perform important functions there. These are (1.) *Prāṇa*, ordinary breathing; (2.) *Apāna*, downward breath, acting on the lower parts of the body; (3.) *Samāna*, collective breath, forming the function of digestion and the transmission of food through the body; (4.) *Udāna*, ascending breath, the vital force which causes the flow of blood upwards to the head; and (5.) *Vyāna*, separate breath, which is connected with the skin, and seems to denote a kind of nerve-force by which sensations are conveyed to the *manas*, or receptive and distinguishing faculty. These inventions are not more crude than that of the vital spirits, of which physicians and men of science used to speak, even in the last century. They denote that Kapila had a dim perception of the fact that there are vital forces at work in the human system more subtle than mere inanimate matter.

But all bodies, and all their separate faculties or endowments, and the constituent elements or *guṇas* of Nature (*Prakṛiti*), which now are variously distributed in existing things, shall finally cease to be in their separate or individual forms. The gross body, formed in the womb of the mother, perishes absolutely at the time of death, the particles being absorbed again in Nature (*Prakṛiti*). When the soul has gained complete deliverance from matter, then the subtle body or *linga* will be absorbed for ever in Prakṛiti. Finally, according to Kapila, all things will be absorbed into it. Only soul and unformed matter will exist. In the system of the Bhagavad Gītā, all things will be absorbed into Prakṛiti at the end of a *kalpa*, or period of creation, which is a day of Brahmā, or 1000 mahāyugas, each of which contains 4,320,000 days; then the sum of

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

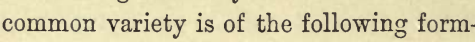
all existences being absorbed in Prakṛiti, the latter, being an inferior part of Brahma, will be also absorbed in him. At the close of the same period of non-creation, a new day will open, and there will be another emanation (*sarga*) of the material part of the Divine Being into the manifold forms of individual life.

The metre used for the most part in the Bhagavad Gītā is the common heroic form, called *Śloka* or *Anushṭubh*, consisting of two lines of sixteen syllables each, with a cæsura at the end of the eighth foot. Its form is this—



each line being the same.

In the more lyrical parts another form is used, called *Trishṭubh*, containing eleven syllables in each half line or pāda. A common variety is of the following form—



a cæsura being generally found at the fifth syllable (Williams' Gram. p. 350).

In preparing this translation of the Bhagavad Gītā, I have had before me the Greek translation of Galanos, and the Italian version of Stanislao Gatti, both supplied by Dr. Reinhold Rost, the learned librarian of the India Office. I have also consulted the French version of Burnouf, the Latin version of Lassen, and the English versions of Mr. Thomson[1] and K. T. Telang. The notes of Lassen have

[1] Mr. Thomson's translation shows that a large advance had been made in the knowledge of Sanskrit, in the interval between the publishing of Wilkins' translation in 1785, and his own, published in 1855. But it contains many errors, some of which seem due to a careless revision of the work as it went through the press. I subjoin a few instances—

"My actions do not *follow* me" (p. 31), for "My actions do not *sully* me": *na limpanti*, lit. do not smear; "ne me souillent pas" (Burnouf).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

given valuable aid, and I am indebted to a paper on the Bhagavad Gītā, read before the "Akademie der Wissenschaften" of Berlin in 1826, by W. von Humboldt, for a scholarly review of the doctrines contained in the poem. I have also consulted a MS. copy of the Commentary on the Bhagavad Gītā, written by Śrīdhara, which is in my possession, and by the kindness of Dr. Rost another commentary, attributed to Śankara, but written by Śankara Ananda Saraswatī (quot. as Ananda), and called Tātparya Bodhinī. By the kindness of Dr. Rost, I have had from the India Office a MS. copy of the commentary of Śankara. This I have consulted also, and have referred to it. The former commentary was supposed for a time to be Śankara's, and extracts from it were assigned to him; but I hope that in every such case the error has been corrected.

"No actions bind the man who *trusts* his actions to devotion" (p. 36), (*yogasannyastakarmāṇam . . . na karmāṇi nibadhnanti*). The version of Lassen is generally followed, and his translation of this passage is, "Qui in devotione opera sua *deposuit*," meaning "laid aside:" lit. "works bind not him who has renounced works in or by devotion." "Celui qui par l'union divine *s'est detaché* des œuvres" (Burnouf). "Acts shackle not him who by devotion has all acts *renounced*" (Telang).

"That devotee . . . attains to *distinction* in the Supreme Being" (p. 41): *sa yogī Brahmanirvāṇam . . . adhigachchhati*. "Is devotus ad *extinctionem* in numine . . . pervenit" (Lassen): lit. to *nirvāṇa*, loss of personality by absorption into Brahma. "Va s'éteindre en Dieu" (Burnouf). In this śloka, the part "qui intus delectatur, intus recreatur" (Lassen) is omitted.

In p. 49 the sentence, "Therefore be thou a Yogin, Arjuna!" is left out.

"There is another eternal existence . . . which does perish when all things perish" (p. 60), *for* "does *not* perish" (*na vinaśyati*).

In p. 63 the nature of the Asuras is said to be "deluded:" it ought to be "deluding," *prakṛitim mohinīmśritās*. In p. 67 we have, "Worship me by obtaining this finite and wretched world" for "having come to (*prāpya*) this, &c., worship Me."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

HINDŪ PHILOSOPHY.

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ,

OR

THE SACRED LAY.

READING THE FIRST (*a*).

OM (*b*).[1]

DHṚITARĀSHṬRA *spoke.*[2]

WHEN my forces and the Pāṇḍavas met together on the sacred plain,[3] the Kurukshetra (plain of the Kurus), eager for the fight, what did they, Sanjaya?

SANJAYA *spoke.*

When the king, Durodhana, saw the army of the Pāṇ-

[1] The italic letters (*a*), (*b*), &c., refer to the Philological Notes at the end of each reading.

[2] Dhṛitarāshṭra, the king of a large territory, of which the city Hastinā-pura, the modern Delhi, was the capital. He is said to have had one hundred sons, of whom Duryodhana, the unscrupulous foe of the sons of Pāṇḍu, was the eldest. Being blind, he intrusted the administration of his kingdom to Duryodhana. See Introduction, p. 1.

[3] The sacred plain (*Dharmakshetra*) was the flat country lying between the rivers Yamunā (Jumna) and Sarasvatī (Sursooty). In the Institutes of Manu (ii. 19) the territory, called Brahmarshi, is said to have included the Kurukshetra plain and the lands of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and the Sūrasenakas. It was called the Brahmarshi country because it was the land of the ancient *ṛishis*, who were distinguished in former times as wise and holy men. This was the "Holy Land" of India, probably because the Aryan race had first permanently set-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

ḍavas drawn up (for battle), he drew near to his tutor,[1] and spoke these words:—

"See, O Tutor! this vast army of the sons of Pāṇḍu, set in array by thy wise pupil, the son of Drupada.[2]

Brave men are there, equal in battle to Bhīma and Arjuna; Yuyudhāna,[3] Virāṭa,[4] and Drupada of the great car;[5]

5 Dṛishtaketu,[6] Chekitāna,[7] and the brave king of

tled there, after it had taken its southern course from the lands beyond the Himalayan range. Here, too, the Brahmanic system seems to have been first developed. This view is supported by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiv. 1, 2). "The gods Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu, Makha, and all the gods, except the Aświns, were present at a sacrifice. Kuru-kshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, they say, Kuru-kshetra is the place where the gods offer sacrifice" (Muir, Sans. Texts, ii. 400, and iv. 125).

The Sarasvatī, though an insignificant stream, is accounted one of the sacred rivers of India.

The plain of Kuru is named from Kuru, the *heros eponymus* of the tribe. In the Bhagavad Gītā, the term Kurus is applied exclusively to the party which supported Duryodhana, though Kuru was the ancestor of both the hostile parties.

[1] The āchārya, or instructor, of the king, was Droṇa, son of the ṛishi Bharadwaja. He was a Brāhman by birth, but having been instructed in the art of war by Parashurāma (Rāma of the axe, the sixth incarnation of Vishṇu), he had been a tutor in military science to Duryodhana and other chiefs of the race. He was slain by Dhṛishṭadyumna, son of Drupada, in a fight described in the seventh book (Droṇa-parvan) of the Mahābhārata.

[2] The son of Drupada, who was king of the Pānchālas, was Dhṛishṭadyumna, his eldest son, mentioned above.

[3] Yuyudhāna was also called Sātyaki, a patronymic from his father, Satyaka. He was of the Yadu tribe, whose territory lay to the west of the Jumna.

[4] Virāṭa was king of the Matsyas, whose country formed part of the sacred plain Dharmakshetra. See Note 3.

[5] Drupada is called *mahārathas* (borne on a great car), to denote his rank. The war-chariot was used only by the leaders of the host, each of whom was accompanied by his charioteer (*sūta*).

[6] Dhṛiṣṭaketu was king of the Chedi tribe, whose chief town was called *Śuktimatī*, probably connected with *śuktimat*, a name given formerly to one of the seven mountain ranges of India.

[7] Chekitāna is only known as a chieftain in alliance with the Paṇḍavas.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Kaśi ;[1] Purujit and Kuntibhoja,[2] and Śaivya, chief of men;[3]

Yudhāmanyu the bold, and the brave Uttamaujas ;[4] the son of Subadrā,[5] and the sons of Drupadī,[6] all borne on great cars.

But know, O best of Brāhmans! who are the most distinguished among us, the leaders of my army; these I name to thee that thou mayest know them:

Thyself,[7] and Bhīshma,[8] and Karṇa,[9] and Kṛipa,[10] victorious in battle; Aśwatthāman,[11] Vikarṇa,[12] and also Saumadatti,[13]

[1] Kāśi is the modern Benares.

[2] Purujit and Kuntibhoja were brothers. The latter, having no children, adopted Kuntī, called also Prithā, eldest daughter of Sūra and Mārishā. She became the wife of Pāṇḍu, and had three sons, Yudishṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna, who is often therefore called Kaunteya or Pārtha, that is, son of Kuntī or Prithā.

[3] Śaivya was the king of the Shivis, the Sibæ of the Greeks (Lassen).

[4] Yudhāmanyu and Uttamaujas are only known as chieftains in the Pāṇḍu host.

[5] Saubhadra (a generic name) was the son of Arjuna and Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛishṇa. His proper name was Abhimanyu.

[6] The sons of Drupadī or Kṛishṇā, a daughter of Drupada, were Prativindhya, Sūtasoma, Śrutakīrti, Śatānīka and Śrutasena. Each of the five sons of Pāṇḍu was the father of one of them.

[7] Duryodhana is here addressed as *bhavān*, equivalent to "my Lord."

[8] Bhīshma, the commander-in-chief of the army of Duryodhana, was a son of Śāntanu, a descendant of Kuru by the goddess Gangā. He was great-uncle to Duryodhana and the sons of Pāṇḍu. On the tenth day of the battle he was slain by Arjuna.

[9] Karṇa was a leader in the army of the Kurus. He was said to be the son of Sūrya (the Sun) and Kuntī, before the marriage of the latter with Pāṇḍu. He was king of the Anga country, situated in Bengal, and was slain in a subsequent fight by Arjuna (Mahābh. viii. 4798).

[10] Kṛipa was a brother of Kripī, the wife of Droṇa, and king of the Panchālas. See Note 3.

[11] Aśwatthāman was a son of Droṇa and Kripī.

[12] Vikarṇa was the third of the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and was one of the Kuru party.

[13] Saumadatti was a son of Somadatta, king of the Bāhīkas, who occupied the country between the Sutlej and the Indus.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

And many others, who give up their lives for my sake, armed with many kinds of weapons, and all well skilled in war.

10 These forces of mine, which Bhīshma commands, are not sufficient (*c*), but their forces, commanded by Bhīma, suffice (for the contest).

Therefore do ye, even all of you, in all the lines as placed in your divisions (*d*), give support to Bhīshma."

The aged Kuru grandsire,[1] the fiery-hearted, in order to cheer him, blew his trumpet (conch-shell), blaring out on high a lion's roar.

Then suddenly the trumpets and the kettledrums, the cymbals, drums, and horns, were sounded: that sound was an uproar.

Then standing in their great car, yoked to white horses, the slayer of Madhu[2] and the son of Pāṇḍu[3] blew their celestial trumpets.

15 Hṛishīkeśa (*e*) blew the "Pānchajanya,"[4] Arjuna, the

[1] Bhīshma, who sought to revive the drooping courage of Duryodhana.

[2] Kṛishṇa was called Mādhava, because (according to Lassen) he was a descendant of Madhu, one of the tribe of the Yādavas, in which, in his human nature, Kṛishṇa was born; but more probably because he slew a *daitya* (giant or demon) named Madhu.

[3] The son of Pāṇḍu is Arjuna, the third of Pāṇḍu's five sons; but to give a divine origin to the hero, he was asserted to be the son of Indra, as Bhīma, his brother, was said to be the son of Vāyu.

Kṛishṇa, though a god, and, in fact, Vishṇu himself, was in his human nature the *sūta* or charioteer of Arjuna.

[4] So called from being formed from the bones of the giant Pānchajana. When Kṛishṇa was under the tuition of Sandīpani, a son of the latter was drowned in the sea of Prabhāsa, and was dragged to the bottom by this giant or demon. Kṛishṇa dived into the sea, slew the giant, and restored the son to his father. Of the giant's bones he made a trumpet in the form of a conch-shell.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

"God-bestowed;"[1] the wolf-hearted, terrible in deeds,[2] blew his great trumpet, "Pauṇḍra."[3]

The king (rāja) Yudishṭhira,[4] son of Kuntī, blew the "Eternal Victory;" Nakula and Sahadeva,[5] the "Sweet in tone" and "Flowered with gems;"

And Kāśya, chief of archers, and Śikhaṇḍin[6] of the great car, Dhṛishṭadyumna and Virāṭa and the unconquered Sātyaki,

Drupada and the sons of Drupadī, all together, O king of earth! with the large-armed sons of Subhadrā, blew severally their trumpets.

That noise rent the hearts of the Dhartarashṭrans, for the uproar made both earth and heaven resound.

20 Then he whose ensign is an ape,[7] the son of Pāṇḍu, seeing the Dhartarashṭrans now drawn up (for battle), and the flight of weapons begun, took up his bow,

And said thus, O king of earth! to Hṛishīkeśa[8]

[1] The trumpet of Arjuna is called the "God-bestowed," because it was the gift of his father, Indra.

[2] *Bhīmakarma*, a doer of dreadful (bhīma) deeds; a play on his name. "Wolfish-hearted," lit. "having the entrails of a wolf," either on account of his voracity, which was said to be very great, or of his ferocious nature.

[3] Pauṇḍra. Puṇḍra means (1) a country lying in Bengal and Bihar, and (2) a sugar-bearing reed. Pauṇḍra is connected probably with the first meaning.

[4] Yudishṭhira was the eldest of the three sons of Kuntī. His father, according to the legend, was Dharma, the god of justice.

[5] Nakula and Sahadeva were the twin sons of Mādrī, the second wife of Pāṇḍu, but fabled to be the sons of the two Aświns, supposed to be the gods who usher in the morning and evening twilight.

[6] Śikhaṇḍin, from śikhaṇḍa, a circular arrangement of three or five locks of hair on each side of the head, sometimes adopted as a mark by the Kshatriya or military caste.

[7] The Indian warriors formerly bore their standards on their war-chariots. Arjuna received this name, Kapidhwaja (ape-bannered), because he bore this sign.

[8] A name of Kṛishṇa. For an explanation of this term and of Keśava, see Philological Notes.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(Kṛishṇa), "Draw up my car, O Immortal! (*f*) between the two armies,

While I behold (*g*) these men drawn up and eager for battle, with whom I must contend in this strife of war.

I would look earnestly (*h*) on those who are assembled here, and are about to fight from a desire to do the pleasure, by war, of the evil-minded son of Dhṛitarāshṭra."[1]

SANJAYA *spoke.*

Hṛishīkeśa (Kṛishṇa) being thus addressed by Gudakeśa (*i*) (Arjuna), stopped that best of cars, O son of Bharata! between the two armies,

25 In the presence of Bhīshma, Droṇa, and all the earth-rulers, and said, "See, O son of Pṛithā! these assembled Kurus."

Then the son of Pṛithā saw there arrayed fathers and grandsires, tutors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons, grandsons, and comrades,

Fathers-in-law and friends too in both the hosts. Then when Kaunteya[2] had looked upon all these kinsmen drawn up (for battle), being overcome by deepest pity, he spoke thus in sadness.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

Having seen, O Kṛishṇa! this kindred host drawn up and eager to fight, my limbs give way and my mouth is dried up.

My body trembles, and my hair stands up on end.

[1] Duryodhana, whose injustice to the sons of Pāṇḍu was the cause of the war.

[2] A name of Arjuna, as a son of Kuntī.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Gāṇḍīva[1] falls from my hand, and my skin is burning. I am not able to stand upright and my mind is whirling round.

30 I see, too, unfavourable omens (*j*), Keśava! nor do I foresee any good from slaying my kinsmen in the fight.

I desire not victory, Kṛishṇa! nor dominion, nor delights. Of what avail can dominion be to us, Govinda,[2] or delights, or even life?

They for whose sake dominion, wealth, and pleasures are desired by us are here arrayed in battle, giving up their lives and wealth.

Tutors, fathers, sons, and even grandsires, uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, and allies too;

These I do not wish to kill, O slayer of Madhu! though (otherwise) I should myself be slain, even for the sake of dominion over the three worlds;[3] how much less for that of earth?

35 If we slay these Dhārtarashṭrans, what joy can then be ours, Janārdana (*k*)? Sin even will cleave to us if we slay these men, (though) felons (*l*).

It is not meet then for us to slay these Dhārtarashṭrans, our kinsmen; for how can we prosper if we slay our kin, O slayer of Madhu?

[1] The name of the bow which he had received from his father Indra. It was supposed to have miraculous powers.

[2] A name of Kṛishṇa, who was said to have been brought up in the household of a cowherd, Nanda; hence his name Govinda (cowherd or cow-owner).

[3] The three worlds are heaven, earth, and hell. Sometimes they are explained as earth, the intermediate space, and heaven. According to mythological fable, the three kingdoms had become the possession of a demon, Bali. Vishṇu, desiring to repossess them, appeared before Bali in the form of a dwarf, and asked for as much land as he could step over in three steps. Bali granted the request with laughter, and Vishṇu, rising continuously, stepped over the three worlds, but gave an abode in Pātāla or hell to Bali (Rāmāyaṇa i. 32). Probably a tradition of a war of races and religions.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

Even if they whose minds are stricken by greed see no evil in the destruction of a tribe or in the oppression of friends,

Should not we resolve to turn away from this sinful deed, we who look on the destruction of a tribe as a sin, Janārdana?

By the slaughter of a tribe the tribal rites, eternal (in obligation) are destroyed; by the destruction of rites the tribe becomes impious;

By the prevalence of impiety, Kṛishṇa! the women of the tribe become corrupt, and when the women are corrupt, confusion of castes arises, Varshneya![1]

This confusion[2] brings the tribe-destroyers and the tribe down to hell, for their forefathers, deprived of libations and *piṇḍas*, fall (from heaven).[3]

[1] A name of Kṛishṇa, from Vṛishṇi, one of his ancestors.

[2] By the destruction of the males the rites of both tribe and family would cease, because women were not allowed to perform them; and confusion of castes would arise, for the women would marry men of another caste. Such marriages were considered impure (Manu x. 1–40). Such marriages produced elsewhere a confusion of classes. Livy tells us that the Roman patricians, at the instance of Canuleius, complained of the intermarriages of the plebeian class with their own, affirming that "omnia divina humanaque turbari, ut qui natus sit, ignoret, cujus sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit" (iv. c. 1 and 2).

[3] This refers to the neglect of the *Śrāddha*, a religious rite on behalf of a deceased father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and sometimes to ancestors in general, in which libations of water and *piṇḍas*, or balls of rice-meal, &c., mixed with clarified butter, were offered to the manes of deceased ancestors, with many pious ceremonies. We are informed in the Institutes of Manu (iii. 189) that the spirits of deceased ancestors are present at these rites, hovering round the offerers and the attendant Brāhmans, and sitting by them when they are seated. The food offered is supposed to give a real nourishment to these manes, who are dismissed at the end of the rite with the following prayer:— "Fathers, to whom food belongs, guard our food and the other things offered by us, venerable and immortal as ye are and conversant with holy truths. Quaff the sweet essence (of the food); be cheerful and depart contented along the path wherein the gods travel" (Colebrooke, Asiat.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

By these caste-confusing sins of the destroyers of a tribe the eternal rites of tribe and family (*m*) are lost.

The dwelling of the men who destroy family rites, Janārdana! is eternally in hell: thus we have heard from sacred books.

Alas! we have resolved to commit a great sin, who are striving to slay our kindred from the lust of dominion and pleasures.

45 It were better for me if the Dhārtarashṭrans, with arms in hand, should slay me, unresisting and unarmed, in the fight.

SANJAYA *spoke.*

Having spoken thus in the (midst of the) fight, Arjuna sat down upon his car-bench, letting fall his bow and arrow, being overwhelmed in heart by grief.

Soc. Res. vii. 269). This path is supposed to be the Via Lactea or Milky Way. It is not explained by Hindū writers why deceased ancestors should fall from the heaven to which they have ascended if these rites should be withheld; but it is believed that they will fall, on this account, even to the lower regions. The heaven of the ancient fathers (*Pitṛis*) was in the moon (Asiat. Res. vii. 267).

[1] Thus the sacred Bhagavad Gītā, among the Upanishads, in the science of Brahṃa, in the book of devotion, in the discourse of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna, Reading the First, whose title is

"THE DESPONDENCY OF ARJUNA."

[1] The title at the end of each reading or chapter varies in different MSS. The usual form is that which I have subjoined. Sometimes a shorter form is used, but in all cases it is a modern addition.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Adhyāya* (reading) is used in books such as the Institutes of Manu, &c., in which formal instruction is given, or in the Sacred Books. The minor divisions, says Lassen, of the epic poems are called *sargas* (emanations, creations). The latter term is not used, however, in the Mahābhārata.

(*b*) *OM.* This mystic monosyllable, formed by the union of the letters *a, u, m,* is supposed to represent the Hindū triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Śiva; probably it represented in an earlier age the triad of Agni (fire), Varuṇa (watery atmosphere or investing sky), and Marut (wind). It is prefixed to works of a religious kind only; and sometimes from a feeling of awe, such as that with which the Jews regarded the name Jehovah, it was not spoken, or only in a low tone. Sometimes it is omitted, as in the Paris codd. A. and D. and a MS. in my possession. The constant use of it is, however, enjoined. "Let the Brāhman always perform *praṇava* (lit. praise, *i.e.*, pronounce the syllable OM) at the beginning and end (of a reading). If the OM be omitted at the beginning, (his learning) flows away; if at the end, it is broken in pieces (Manu ii. 74).

The poem is generally preceded in Hindū MSS. by a rather long introduction, formed partly of verses taken from the poem, and partly of a dhyāna, or pious meditation. As it is not a part of the poem itself, it is here omitted.

(*c*) *Aparyāptam,* "impar certamini" (Lassen); "not sufficient" (Thomson); "unhinreichend" (Lorinser); "innumerable" (Burnouf and Telang). In the Peters. Dict. *paryāpta* is translated by "erfüllt," "hinreichend," "genugend." The literal translation is "inadequate," "unmeet;" but the unfitness may be either in the want of preparation or of numbers.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Paryāptabhoga (Manu iii. 40), having ample enjoyments, is in favour of the meaning "insufficient in numbers;" but Śrīdhara and other commentators explain the word as "vast," "unlimited."

(*d*) *Ayaneshu cha sarveshu yathā bhāgam avasthitās.* The translation in the Petersburg Dict. is "per tramites aciei cunctos secundum ordines collocati."

(*e*) *Hṛishīkeśa*, a word variously explained. Hindū commentators derive it from *hṛishīka* (a sense) and *īsha* (a lord), making Kṛishṇa, of whom it is an epithet, "Lord of the senses," as identical with the supreme Brahma. But *hṛishīka* is a doubtful word, and the meaning assigned to the term is not especially applicable to Kṛishṇa or Brahma. More probably from *hṛish*, to become strong or stiff, and *keśa*, hair of the head (cæsaries). (See Peters. Dict. s. v.) Kṛishṇa is represented as having strong curly hair, and we may compare this epithet with *auricomus*, applied to Apollo.

(*f*) *Achyuta.* "O Dive" (Lassen); "O Immortal One" (Thomson); "nie Fehlender" (Lorinser). Telang translates it, "O undegraded one," but this is, I think, incorrect. It is compounded of the neg. *a* and *chyuta*, p.p. of *chyu*, to fall, drop off, perish. It is found in the Rig-Veda (i. 52. 2), where a mountain is said to be *achyuta*, unshaken or unmoved by the torrents. Mr. Muir (Sans. Texts, iv. 168) quotes a passage in the Rāmāyaṇa where it is applied to Madhusūdana (Vishṇu), and he translates it by "unfalling." In the Pali Dāṭhāvansa (i. 3), *achchuta* is applied to the state of *nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*). The Peters. Dict. expresses the exact meaning in translating it by "feststehend," "unvergänglich."

(*g*) *Nirīkshe*, and (*h*) *avekshe.* The root *īksh*, when compounded with *nis* (nir), means to look at; when comp. with *ava*, to regard, to consider, to look at earnestly or with solicitude.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*i*) *Guḍākeśa*, a name of Arjuna. Derived by the Hindū grammarians from *guḍāka* (sleep), and *īsha* (lord); but more probably, as by Lassen and in the Peters. Dict., from *guḍa*, a round mass, a ball, and *keśa*, hair of the head: "cujus capilli globulorum instar intorti sunt" (Lassen). It is similar in meaning to Hṛishīkeśa (l. 29).

(*j*) *Nimittāni*. *Nimitta* has the double meaning of "cause" and "sign" or "omen." It is not certain whether Arjuna is speaking of some omens then present before him, or of the causes of evil that seemed to lie in the condition of affairs. The Hindūs were wont, as the Latins and other races, to divine by birds and other animals, or by natural appearances. "Vulgatam fuisse inter Indos auguriorum superstitionem e Rāmēide discimus (i. c. 74). Describitur congressus mirabilis Rāma Jāmadegneii cum Rāma Dasarathida, quem prænuntiant Dasarathæ *volucres horrendæ undique vocibus obstrepentes*. Quo facto, Vasishthas, fatorum gnarus, declarat *eminere periculum horrendum, e divinarum volucrum ore emissum*" (Lassen). See Śakuntalā, p. 20, Prof. Williams's ed. *Keśava* (having a large bush of hair), an epithet of Kṛishṇa.

(*k*) *Janārdana*, a name of Kṛishṇa. Schlegel translates the epithet by "O mortalium votis expetite!" following the Hindū scholiasts. The Peters. Dict. more correctly by "die Menschen aufregend, bedrängend," from *jana* (a man) and *ard* (to vex, to wound). Schlegel would connect the two meanings by saying that perhaps we ought to understand the word as applied to Kṛishṇa, "ut sit, qui desiderio sui corda hominum vexat." The forced explanation of the scholiasts probably arose from a desire to soften down what seemed a hard expression. "Vexer of his foes" seems to be the correct interpretation. "Because he made the Dasyus tremble, he is *Janārdana*" (Mahābh. v. 2565).

(*l*) *Ātatāyinas*, lit. bearing an outstretched bow, and hence

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

threatening the lives of men; robbers, murderers. Śrīdhara, a scholiast, says that the term included incendiaries, poisoners, assassins, thieves, robbers of land and of other people's wives, and that the Kurus had acted all these parts against the sons of Pāṇḍu.

(*m*) *Jātidharma, kuladharma; jāti = varṇa* (caste), *kula* = family or tribe, say the Hindū commentators.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE SECOND.

SANJAYA *spoke.*

To him, thus deeply affected by pity, with his troubled eyes filled with tears and desponding, the slayer of Madhu addressed these words:—

"Whence, Arjuna! has come to thee in a difficulty (*a*) this vile depression, unmeet for one of noble race, debarring from heaven [1] and causing disgrace?

"Yield not to unmanliness, O son of Pṛithā! it becomes thee not. Cast off this base faint-heartedness and arise, O destroyer of foes!"

ARJUNA *spoke.*

O slayer of Madhu! how shall I assail with my arrows in the battle Bhīshma and Droṇa, who are worthy of honour, O slayer of foes?

[2] For it were better to feed on the food even of beggary for life than to slay these much-honoured teachers (*gurus*); yea, if I were to slay these teachers, though greedy of wealth, I should eat of viands stained with blood.

We know not which would be the better lot for us, that we should conquer them or they should conquer us. If we should slay these Dhārtarashṭrans, here drawn up in array before us, we should not wish to live.

[1] Warriors dying bravely in battle were supposed to go to the heaven of Indra, as the Scandinavian heroes to the Valhalla of Odin (Vishṇu P. i. 6. 33).

[2] Here the metre is changed to one called *Trishṭubh.* (See Introd. p. 16.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

I, who am stricken in soul by pity and (the sense of) guilt (*b*), and confused in mind about duty, pray thee to tell me certainly what is the better (course). Declare this to me: I am thy disciple;[1] teach me now prostrate before thee.

For I see not what can avail to drive away this grief that dries up my senses, though I should attain on earth to a vast, unrivalled dominion, and even to the supreme rule of the gods (*suras*).

SANJAYA *spoke.*

Guḍakeśa (Arjuna), having spoken thus to Hṛishīkeśa (Kṛishṇa), O destroyer of foes! said to Govinda, "I will not fight," and became silent.

10 Then Hṛishīkeśa, gently smiling, O son of Bharata! addressed him, thus desponding, with these words, between the two armies.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Thou grievest for those who need no grief,[2] but thou speakest words of wisdom. The wise grieve not for the dead or the living.

[1] Arjuna was not, in a strict sense, the disciple of Kṛishṇa, but he puts himself in the position of one, that he might be guided in his present perplexed and troubled state. The honour claimed for the Guru, or spiritual guide, was excessive. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa he is put on a level with Deity itself.

[2] Here the poem begins as an exposition of philosophy. It may be divided into three parts, each containing six chapters or readings. The first treats mainly of the Yoga system; the second, of the Supreme Being; the third, of the Sānkhya system of philosophy. The author, however, regards all these subjects from his own standpoint as an independent thinker, and his system is therefore eclectic.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

But I was never non-existent,[1] nor thou, nor these rulers of men, nor shall any of us hereafter cease to be.

As in this (present) body, childhood, youth, and old age appertain to the embodied (soul), so also it obtains another body.[2] The wise man is not troubled thereat.

But the contacts (*c*) of matter,[3] O son of Kuntī!
o causing cold and heat, pain and pleasure, come and go, being only temporary: these bear with firmness, O son of Bharata!

15 For the man whom these things afflict not,[4] O chief of men! who is steadfast, the same in pain and pleasure, is formed for immortality (*d*).

That which is unreal has no (proper) existence, and that which is real never ceases to be:[5] but the limit (*e*) of both is seen by those who know the truth.

[1] The first doctrine of the poem is the immortality of the soul, which Kapila affirmed to be eternal, both *e parte ante* and *e parte post*.

[2] The second doctrine is the transmigration of the soul to different bodies. The body formed in the womb is absolutely dissolved into its primary elements after death; but the *linga*, or "spiritual body," formed of the finer elements of matter, accompanies the soul in all its migrations, until the latter has attained to *nirvāṇa*, or absorption into the supreme Brahmā. The *linga* is then dissolved into the primary material essence, called *Prakṛiti* or Nature (Introduction, p. 12). The literal translation of these lines is: "As childhood, youth (or prime), and age in this (the present) body are (the accidents) of the embodied soul," &c. The sou has in reality no change, and therefore remains the same in the successive changes of the (gross) body, and in migrating to another body.

[3] "Matter-contacts," the contacts of the soul with matter by means of the organs of sense. The Sanskrit *mātra* (Lat. *materia*), from *mā*, to measure, denotes the measurable or finite, in opposition to the infinite Brahma.

[4] Here the result of the *yoga*, or devotional system of Patanjali, is expressed. The soul, being absorbed in meditation on the Supreme, becomes indifferent to all earthly things.

[5] This accords in part with the systems of Kapila and Patanjali. According to the former, *Prakṛiti* or primeval matter is eternal and indestructible. The various forms of matter have only a conditional, not an absolute or real, existence. In the Theistic form of his system,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Know also that He (That) which spread out[1] this All can never perish. No one is able to cause the destruction of this Eternal.[2]

These (bodies) are called the mortal bodies(*f*) of the eternal, imperishable, infinite, embodied (soul): wherefore fight, O son of Bharata!

He who deems this to be a slayer, and he who thinks that it can be slain, are both undiscerning: it slays not, and it is not slain.

20 It is never born, and it never dies: it has never been brought into being, nor shall it ever be brought hereafter. Unborn, undying, eternal, primeval(*g*), this is not slain when the body is slain.

How can that man, O son of Pṛithā! who knows it to be indestructible, eternal, unborn, and undying, cause any one to be slain, and how can he slay?

As a man, having cast off his old garments, takes others that are new, so the embodied (soul), having cast off the old bodies, enters into others that are new.

matter is only an inferior part of the dual nature of the Godhead (see c. vii. 5). In the existent forms of things it is only temporary, and will be absorbed again in the Divine nature from which it issued. In the popular Vedāntist doctrine it has no real existence. The Supreme Spirit includes in itself all being. There is no duality. Matter is only the illusive form (*māyā*) in which he has veiled his real nature for a time, but it will disappear at last. It is only as the reflection of the moon in water. Our author, however, does not expressly deny the objectivity of matter, but it is as nothing in comparison with the soul. Compare the language of Bossuet (Serm. sur la Mort): "Tout être qui se mesure n'est rien, parceque ce qui se mesure a son terme, et lorsqu'on est venu à ce terme un dernier point detruit tout, comme si jamais il n'avait été."

[1] Cf. Ps. civ. 2: "Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain."

[2] The Supreme Brahma. The gods are not eternal. They issued from Brahma. "The Supreme Lord of life caused to issue the creation of gods" (Manu i. 22).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Weapons cleave it not, nor does the fire burn it; the waters wet it not, nor do the winds dry it up.

This is impenetrable, incombustible, incapable of being moistened or dried up: it is undying, all-pervading, constant, immovable, and eternal.

25 This is declared to be invisible, incomprehensible, immutable: wherefore knowing it to be such, thou oughtest not to grieve for it.

And if thou thinkest it to be ever born and ever dying (with the body), even then it is not meet for thee to grieve for it, O mighty-armed!

For the death of what is born is certain, and certain (too) the birth of what has died; therefore it is not meet for thee to mourn over that which none can prevent.

In the primal state all things are unseen; in the middle state they are seen, O son of Bharata! they become unseen again in the state of death. What cause of grief is there in this?

One man looks on it (the soul) as a marvel; another speaks of it as a marvel, and another hears of it as a marvel, but there is not one who, by hearing of it, understands it.

30 This embodied (soul) in the body of every one, O son of Bharata! is ever indestructible, wherefore thou oughtest not to mourn for any living thing.

Regarding, too, thy proper duty, thou oughtest not to falter, for to a Kshatriya (warrior) nothing is better than a lawful fight.

Happy are the Kshatriyas, O son of Pṛithā! who obtain such a fight as this, offered freely to them as an open door to heaven.

But if thou wilt not undertake this lawful fight, then,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

by abandoning thy proper duty and thy honour, thou wilt be guilty of a crime.

Then men will proclaim thy eternal disgrace, and to a well-born man (*h*) disgrace is worse than death.

35 The car-borne men (the chiefs) will think that thou hast withdrawn from the battle through fear, and thou, who wast highly thought of by them, will be lightly esteemed.

Thy enemies will utter many disgraceful words (lit. that ought not to be said), deriding thy capacity (as a warrior): what can be more grievous than this?

If slain, thou wilt attain to heaven, or thou wilt possess the earth if a conqueror: wherefore arise, O son of Kuntī! resolved upon the fight.

Accounting pain and pleasure, gain and loss, victory and defeat as equal, gird thyself for the battle: thus thou wilt not bring sin upon thee.

39 This doctrine has been declared to thee according to the Sānkhya (system); hear now the Yoga (teaching). When thou, by means of this teaching, hast become devout (*yukta*), thou wilt cast off the bonds of works.[1]

[1] This expression, "bonds of action" (or "bonds of works"), often recurs in the poem, and must be well understood in order to gain a correct knowledge of the nature and aims of this system of philosophy. Every action that is wrought for some purpose connected with self, though it be the hope of gaining heaven, is followed by the necessary result of a good or evil state in another body. This result is called the bond of action, or that to which the work necessarily binds the doer. All works are exposed to the danger of such gain or loss: the aim of the true Yogin is to rise above all such vicissitudes and to gain by a mystic union (*yoga*) with the supreme Brahmā in devout meditation a final absorption (*nirvāṇa*) into his essence. The Yogin is then born no more, and is for ever emancipated from any contact with matter, which is the source of all evil and of all pain. Hence arises the opposition in the spiritualist Yogin to all outward forms, even such as are expressed or enjoined in the Vedas. He becomes superior to them all in

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

40 In this (system) there is no waste of effort, in it no loss[1] is found. Even a little of this pious exercise delivers from great fear.

This doctrine (*i*), which is of a constant nature, is one, O son of Kuru! but many-branched and endless are the doctrines of the inconstant.

A flowery kind of language is spoken by the unwise, who delight in Veda-words,[2] O son of Pṛithā! saying, "There is nothing but this!"

Whose souls are full of lust, who regard heaven as the highest good, offering birth as the fruit of works, and practising many varied rites for the attaining of pleasures and power.

The doctrine of these men who are devoted to pleasures and power, and whose minds are carried away by these (words), having effort as its essence, is not formed for meditation.

45 The Vedas have the three *guṇas*[3] as their object. Be thou free from the three *guṇas*, Arjuna! be free from the

his mature state; they are then completely useless to him, though they may be of some use to those who are in a lower condition (vi. 3, 12; ii. 46). Like the Quietists in the Church of Rome, he is above the hope of reward, though it should be that of the highest heaven. This reward, too, would be only temporary, for all the seven heavens, and the gods who inhabit and rule over them, will pass away at the end of a *kalpa*, to be produced again when another kalpa begins (viii. 37).

[1] In worldly pursuits there may be failure in attempting to gain what we desire, and if gained it may be lost, but there is neither failure nor loss in devotion.

[2] An attack on the prevailing Vedāntist ritual, which the Vedas underlay. This offered one of the heavens of the gods as a reward; the reward of pure devotion (*yoga*) is absorption into the supreme Brahma.

[3] The three Modes, or Qualities, as they are usually called, are the constituent elements of Prakṛiti or primal matter. From them all the labours, the pleasures and pains of our present life are produced (see Introd. p. 12). The meaning of the passage is, that Arjuna should be free from all the influences of matter, whether good or evil, for the best results that come from it are comparatively evil.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

pairs of opposites,[1] ever fixed on truth, without anxious care (*j*) and self-possessed.

As many as are the uses of a reservoir, whose waters flow in on every side, so many are there in all the Vedas for a discerning Brāhman.[2]

Let the work itself be thy charge, but never the fruit (of works); let not the fruit of works be thy motive, yet be not inclined to inaction.

Do thy works, steadfast in devotion, renouncing attachment (*k*), O subduer of wealth! be still the same in success and failure. Evenness of mind is called devotion (*yoga*).

For work is far inferior to mental devotion, O subduer of wealth! Seek for refuge in the mind. Miserable are they whose motive is the fruit (of works).

50 He who has become mentally devout abandons both good and evil deeds: therefore apply thyself to devotion (*yoga*). Yoga is success in works (the work in which there is always success).

For the wise, devout in mind, renouncing the fruit that is born of works, freed from the bondage of birth, go to the seat where disease[3] is not.

When thy mind shall pass over the tangled path of

[1] Lit. "not affected by pairs" (*dwandwās*), *i.e.*, by opposites, such as pleasure and pain, health and sickness, &c. Cf. Vishṇu Purāṇa I, 6, 18: "As sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain)." (S. T. i. 62.)

[2] A reservation, probably from the spirit of compromise which is evident throughout the poem. It would shock too much the feelings of his fellow-Brahmans if the poet were to deny that there was any use in the Vedas and other sacred books, but their use was far inferior to that of *yoga* (mental devotion).

[3] "The seat where there is no disease" is the Supreme Brahmā. The expression seems to indicate that the Hindūs were then comparatively a feeble race, subject to many kinds of disease.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

delusion, thou wilt attain to a disdain of what has been revealed, or shall be revealed hereafter.[1]

When thy mind, distracted (aforetime) by *śruti* (the Vedas), shall stand unshaken, in meditation fixed, thou wilt then attain to *yoga*.

ARJUNA *spoke*.

What is the mark (*l*), Keśava! of one who is fixed in knowledge,[2] and who is constant in meditation? How may he speak who is steadfast in thought, how may he rest or move?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke*.

55 When one casts off all desires whose seat is in the heart, O son of Pṛithā! content with himself in himself, he is said to be steadfast in knowledge.

He whose heart is not distressed in adversity, in whom

[1] A bold defiance of the established religion, *i.e.*, the religion of the Vedas. *Śruti*, lit. "hearing," is the name of all books given by divine revelation, and these are the *mantras* and the *brāhmaṇas* (hymns and expositions) of the four Vedas. *Smṛiti* (recollection or memory) is the name given to those ancient writings from which duty, divine and social, might be learned. In the Institutes of Manu we are told that "*śruti* is the Veda, and *smṛiti* the book of duty or law (*dharma-śāstra*); these in all cases are not to be questioned, for from these duty has been made manifest" (ii. 10). It is stated, however, expressly, that they are not of equal authority, for it is added: "To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, *śruti* is the supreme authority" (ii. 13). *Śruti* therefore answers to "revelation," and *smṛiti* to "tradition," in the language of Western nations. The Hindū commentators ignore this allusion to *śruti* as "revelation," and interpret it in the primitive sense of "hearing," *i.e.*, of means of obtaining the objects of the senses" (Śankara). Śrīdhara says, "Hearing what is not according to the Vedas."

[2] By knowledge is meant spiritual knowledge, the knowledge of the supreme Brahma, and of union with him (*yoga*) by meditation. The word *sthitaprajna* means one who is both steadfast and wise in divine things.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

all joy in prosperity is lost, from whom passion, fear, and wrath have passed away, is called a *muni*[1] (recluse), fixed in meditation.

He who is without affection on every side, who has neither delight nor aversion in good or evil fortune of any kind, of this man the knowledge is fixed.

When one withdraws his senses from sense-objects, as a tortoise draws in its limbs in every part, the knowledge of this man is fixed.

Sensuous objects withdraw from an abstinent man:[2] even savour withdraws when it beholds his complete abandonment of savour.

Yet the tumultuous senses of a wise man, even though he resists, O son of Kuntī! bear away the heart by force.

When he has subdued them all, he may rest in devotion, intent on Me, for the knowledge of him whose senses are under control is fixed.

When a man meditates on the objects of sense, then attachment to them arises: desire springs from attachment; from desire wrath (vehement emotion) proceeds.

From wrath comes confusion; from confusion, wandering of memory;[3] from this wandering comes destruction of the intellect, and by this destruction the man is lost.

But he who meets sense-objects with senses free from

[1] An anchoret devoted to the practice of *yoga* (mystic devotion).

[2] From the habit of self-control, even desire will cease at last; figuratively expressed by the retreat of a sensible object, as if practically it was no longer present.

[3] The loss of memory implies forgetfulness of right and wrong; from this comes folly or delusion, by which the man acts with an evil waywardness, and incurs thereby future punishment in Naraka (hell).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

desire or aversion and is self-controlled, he, being well-ordered in soul, attains to peace.[1]

65 In (the possession of) peace, then freedom from all distress is produced in him; for the mind of him whose thoughts are peaceful soon becomes steadfast.

Neither intelligence nor right condition (*m*) belongs to the undevout man; there is no tranquillity for him who is not well-conditioned (or well-ordered,) and how can there be happiness for him who is not tranquil?

For the heart of the man who obeys the roving senses carries away his knowledge as the wind (drives) ships at sea.

Wherefore, O mighty-armed! the knowledge of the man whose senses are wholly withheld from the objects of sense is confirmed.

That which is the night of all (other) beings is the time when the self-restrained man[2] is awake, and when other beings are awake, that is the night of a discerning recluse (*muni*).

70 He attains to peace into whom all desires enter as rivers enter into the ocean, which is ever filled, and (yet) remains within its bounds; not the man who cherishes desires.

[1] Cf. Plato in the "Phædo" (sec. 75): "The soul of a real lover of wisdom would not reason as they (mankind in general) do; would not think that philosophy must set him free, and that when he has done this, he may again give himself over to pleasures and pains, and thus undo what she has done, weaving her web to unravel it again, after the fashion of Penelope. His soul attains a calm repose from passion, follows reason as her guide, and is employed in the contemplation of what is true and divine."

[2] The self-restrained, possessing spiritual knowledge, see clearly where worldly men are in darkness: worldly desires and interests are foreign to him: they are covered with the darkness of night to him, but to the worldly these are things that are seen as in the light of day.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

The man who, having abandoned all desires, goes onward without attachments, free from selfishness and vanity, attains to peace.

This is the Brahma state,[1] O son of Pṛithā! he who has obtained it is troubled no more. He who retains it till the hour of death passes on to *nirvāṇa* (absorption) in Brahma.[2]

[1] The state or condition of the knowledge of Brahma, according to Śrīdhara. Śankara's gloss is "dwelling in the form of Brahma," *i.e.*, his being or nature.

[2] Cf. the "Phædo" (sec. 68): "If it (the soul) take its departure in a state of purity, not carrying with it any clinging impurities of the body; impurities which during life it never willingly shared in, but always avoided; gathering itself into itself, and making this separation from the body its aim and study, . . . well then, so prepared, the soul departs to that invisible region which is, of its own nature, the region of the Divine, the Immortal, and the Wise."

Nirvāṇa, lit. "blown out;" the complete absorption of the soul in the Supreme Spirit, of which it is a part, according to the Vedāntist school. It is thus explained in the Bṛihadarāṇyaka (Sans. Lit., p. 24). "It is with us, when we enter into the Divine Spirit, as if a lump of salt was thrown into the sea; it becomes dissolved into the water (from which it was produced), and is not to be taken out again."

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Second, whose title is

"THE SĀNKHYA-YOGA (DOCTRINE)."

God is a Spirit - Touches us in our Consciousness alone. He is a Spiritual Sun - Whose Love - Light, Beauty, Wisdom, Expression a condition beyond the maddest dreams of the human mind. He is a grandeur that shines [illegible]

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Vishame.* "In rerum discrimine" (Lassen); "in matters of difficulty" (Thomson); "dans la bataille" (Burnouf); "in this fearful place" (Telang). *Vishama*, from *vi*, a prefix of negation, and *sama*, equal, means (1) inequality or unevenness of ground; (2) difficulty, trouble. The locative case of the noun gives some support to Telang's version, but the reference is not to the place itself, but to the circumstances connected with it. We may translate the word, "in this difficult state of affairs" or "emergency." Śrīdhara explains *vishamē* by *sangrāme sankaṭe* (in the closed battle).

(*b*) *Kārpanyadoshopahataswabhāvas.* "Miseratione et formidine culpæ fracta indole" (Lassen, followed by Thomson and others). Telang's version is, "My heart too, by the taint of helplessness tarnished," taking the compound as a tat-purusha form. But *upahata* means "wounded" or "destroyed," not "tarnished," and *kārpanya* is poverty or misery. Helplessness implies no guilt (*dosha*), but Arjuna's grief might be wrong, as he was of the warrior (*Kshatriya*) caste. On the other hand, nothing is said of the *fear* of wrong, but of wrong simply. The very nature (*swabhāva*) of Arjuna was wounded by pity for his relatives and the sin of this fratricidal war.

(*c*) *Mātrāsparśas.* "Elementorum contactus" (Lassen); "contacts of the senses" (Telang and the Hindū scholiasts). *Mātra* (matter) is the object of the senses, not the senses themselves.

(*d*) *Kalpate*, "doth *merit* (immortality)" (Telang). The word means "is fitted for." Śrīdhara interprets it by *yogyobhavati* (is fitted or suitable for). Lassen excellently, "ad immortalitatem conformatur."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*e*) *Antas*, end, limit. Lassen translates it by "discrimen;" Thomson by "true end;" Burnouf by "en connaissent la limite." The authors of the Peters. Dict. refer to this passage, and translate the word by "ende," "ausgang." Telang interprets the word as meaning "settled truth." Lassen's version gives an intelligible meaning, but it has not been shown that *anta* (end, limit) has the meaning of "difference." The meaning of the passage is that only the soul has a real existence, or at least that the forms and conditions of matter have only a conditional existence. The dividing line of the two is clearly seen by the wise. Śrīdhara defines *asat* (unreal) as that which has not the nature of the soul and religious duty (*dharma*). In the philosophy of Kapila, *sat* means formal existence, and *asat* the formless, unmanifested *Prakṛiti* (primal matter).

(*f*) Lassen supposes that *śarīrinās* is connected with a second *dehās* (bodies), and suggests that the latter word means "miasmata." He would translate the passage thus: "Mortalia hæc corpora nihil aliud sunt quam μιάσματα spiritus cum illis conjuncti." A fanciful interpretation, which cannot be maintained. Possession is often indicated by the genitive case, without a verb or noun intervening (Williams' Grammar, sec. 816). Burnouf's version is also untenable: "Ces corps qui *procedent* d'une âme," &c. The subject here is not the creation of the body, but its use by the soul as a dwelling-place.

(*g*) *Śāśwato' yam purāṇo. Śāśwata*, eternal as to the future; *purāṇa*, eternal as to the past.

(*h*) *Sambhāvitasya.* "Pour un homme de sens" (Burnouf); but Lassen's version, "viri generosi," is, I think, better. The Hindū commentators explain the word as meaning "honoured;" but *sambhāva* means birth, origin, and the appeal is to Arjuna's pride of birth. Gatti has "generoso."

(*i*) *Buddhi* (intellect), but used here, it seems, as in dist. 39, for "doctrine."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*j*) *Yogakshema*, primarily a law-term for an insurance or guarantee of property. The practice of insurance is of very ancient date, for in the laws of Manu we are told that a king should levy taxes on traders only after a due consideration of the rates of purchase and sale . . . and "the charges of securing (insuring?) the goods carried" (vii. 127). A secondary meaning is care or anxiety.

(*k*) *Sanga*, attachment or desire. This is an important word in the Yoga system. It is formed from *sanj*, to hold or adhere to, and corresponds to the Fr. *attachement*. It means any affection or desire by which the mind is bound to the object of desire, and is thus prevented from gaining that perfect equanimity and absence of passion which it is the object of the Yoga discipline to form. Thomson translates the word by "covetousness," but this, in its restricted modern sense, is much too limited. Schlegel and Lassen have "ambitione sepositâ;" but *sanga* is not ambition merely; it is more than this; including it, but taking a wider range. Burnouf translates it by *desir*, but this is too wide. It is not every kind of desire that is forbidden, for some kinds are unavoidable, and some are of an indifferent quality, but such desire as binds and entangles the soul by connecting it mediately with some form of matter, and producing an inward commotion or bias.

(*l*) *Bhāshā*, a sign, means primarily speech or language. It is used to denote the distinguishing mark or sign of a person, for "his speech bewrayeth him."

(*m*) *Bhāvana*. "Sui conscientia" (Lassen); "reflexion" (Thomson); "sammlung des Geist's" (Lorinser, who adds, "am meisten dürfte im Deutschen hier der Ausdruck 'Bei-sich sein' entsprechen"). Śrīdhara interprets it by *dhyāna*, meditation. Cf. śabdabhāvanā vidhiriti, the right condition of speech is due order (Madhus. in Pet. Dict.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE THIRD.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

If knowledge is deemed by thee to be better than action, O destroyer of foes! why dost thou engage me to this dreadful deed, Keśava?

Thou bewilderest my mind by these ambiguous words: tell me distinctly what is the one certain (course) by which I may attain to the better state.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

There is in this world a twofold rule of life (*a*), as I said before,[1] O sinless one!—that of the Sānkhyans,[2] by devotion of knowledge, and that of the Yogins, by devotion of work.

A man who does not undertake works attains not to freedom ~~from work~~, nor does he obtain the perfect state by mere renouncement.[3]

[1] See c. ii. p. 37.

[2] The Sānkhya school is that of Kapila; the Yoga that of Patanjali. In their physical theories they generally coincide, and in the questions relating to the soul. They differed, however, in two very important points. Kapila did not recognise a personal Supreme Deity, but only primordial matter, emanating into distinct forms by a kind of blind instinct. Patanjali exalted philosophy into religion by setting forth a spiritual Supreme Essence, at whose command all existing things come into being. Kapila taught that final emancipation from matter can only be obtained by knowledge, meaning by knowledge his own philosophy chiefly. Patanjali taught that it is gained chiefly by pious meditation, whereby the soul is joined in thought to the Great Supreme, and is finally absorbed in him.

[3] The nature of a true renunciation is taught in c. v. The proper

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

5 For no man ever continues to cease from action, even for a short time, since every one is compelled by the Modes (*guṇas*)[1] of nature to act, even against his will.

He who, restraining the organs of action,[2] remains inactive, but yet remembers in his heart the objects of sense, he, confused in soul, is called a "false devotee."

But he who, having subdued the senses by the heart (*manas*), Arjuna! undertakes the devotion of work by the organs of action, without attachment, is highly esteemed.

Do thou every appointed work, for action is better than inaction, and even the means of subsistence for the body cannot be gained by thee if inactive.

This world is bound by the bonds of action,[3] except in work done on account of sacrifice.[4] Apply thyself to work for this purpose, O son of Kuntī! but without attachment.

10 When the Lord of all beings[5] (*b*) had created mankind

Yoga system, in its highest form, excluded all voluntary work; but the enlightened mind of our author led him to a modification of this extreme view. Śrīdhara says that works connected with caste must be done. He also explains "freedom from work" (*naishkaryam*) by "spiritual knowledge" (*jnāna*), for in the Yoga system this was equivalent to the mind being fixed on Brahma in the exercise of devotion. Śankara explains "the perfect state" as "divine knowledge."

[1] For the nature of these constituents of Prakṛiti see Introd. p. 12.

[2] The organs of action are five—the hands, the feet, the mouth, and the organs of excretion and generation. The five senses are those of hearing, sight, smelling, taste, and the action of the skin.

[3] For the meaning of the term "bonds of action" see c. ii. p. 37.

[4] Śankara refers *yajna*, sacrifice, to Vishṇu, as the Īshwara or Lord. Ananda has the same explanation, and both refer to *śruti*, revelation, *i.e.*, the Vedas and other works of the same authority.

[5] The lord of all beings, the supreme Brahmā, in his form of Brahmā, ordained the sacrifice by fire. "He, the Supreme Ruler, created the eternal sacrifice" (Manu, i. 22). The gods were supposed to partake of the sacrifices through Agni. "Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by sending forth rain" (Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 6).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of old, together with sacrifice, he said, "By this shall offspring be obtained: be this your cow of plenty[1] (*c*) for (the attainment of) your desires.

Nourish ye the gods by this, and let the gods also nourish you. Thus, nourishing each other, ye shall obtain the highest good;

For the gods, nourished by sacrifice, shall give to you the desired foods. He who eats the things which are given by them without offering to them (in return) is a thief.

Good men, who eat the remains of sacrifices, are freed from all their sins, but the evil, who cook only for themselves, eat sin.[2]

All creatures live by food; food is produced by rain; rain is (caused) by sacrifice; sacrifice is wrought by action.

15 Know that action springs from Brahmā;[3] Brahmā pro-

[1] *Kāmaduk*, from *kāma* (love, desire) and *duh* (to milk), the symbolical cow of Indra, from which every desired good could be obtained. Probably at first a personification of the earth as the giver of food, &c.

[2] Cf. Manu iii. 118: "He who eats what has been dressed for himself only, eats nothing but sin; a feast on that which remains after the offering is called the banquet of the good."

[3] Brahmā, as the Creator, is the author of action, and he issued from the Undivided, the Supreme Brahmă or Brahman. Lassen translates the passage, "Numen e simplici et individuo ortum." Mr. Thomson's version is, "The Supreme Spirit is co-existent with the Indivisible," and he adds in a note, "Three categories of spirit are here marked out. The lowest is the soul of man, called *kshara*, divisible; the next is *akshara*, indivisible, explained by the word *kuṭastha*, pervading all things; the third is the Supreme Being in his own individual personality." But *kshara* means the whole of finite created forms, the existing creation in its manifold parts (see c. viii. n. 1). The creative principle, in itself undivided, came forth from Brahmā, and is the material source of a material creation. "Being formed by that First Cause ('That which is,' Sir W. Jones), undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent (in material forms) and non-existent, that Male (*Purusha*) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā." He is the Supreme in his creative energy, existing in the varied forms of the world. Brahmā dwelt in the egg in

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

ceeds from the Indivisible One. Wherefore Brahma, the all-pervading, is ever present in sacrifice.

He who causes not this appointed cycle to revolve here below, he, living in sin and gratifying the senses, lives in vain, O son of Pṛithā!

But the man who can be happy in himself, pleased with himself, and contented with himself alone, for him nothing remains to be done.[1]

For this man has no interest whatever in what is done or left undone here below, nor for him is there any occasion whatever of seeking for succour (*d*) from any living thing.

Wherefore apply thyself to work that ought to be done, but always without attachment (*e*), for the man who applies himself to work without attachment attains to the Supreme (*f*).

20 For Janaka[2] and others have attained to perfection

which the Supreme had placed him for a (divine) year, and then dividing it, "he formed the heavens and the earth" (Manu i. 11, 13). Śankara and other Hindū scholiasts explain Brahma to mean the Vedas, and the Vedas are present, says Śankara, because "the rites of sacrifice are their main object." This is as unsatisfactory as other explanations of obscure passages by Hindū commentators. It is never thus used by the author of the Bhagavad Gītā, who had not as much reverence for the Vedas as Śankara and other scholiasts.

[1] Mr. Thomson translates the latter clause, "Has no selfish interest in action," asserting that he who "is all in all to himself performs actions as a duty." On the contrary, such a man is exalted above all action and all duty. Lassen, more correctly, "Omni negotio vacat." Literally it is, "Necessary work (what is to be done) of this man exists not." Telang translates it, "Has naught to do." Cf. c. v. 24. Ananda says that he attains to this state by his complete knowledge. Śrīdhara, in commenting on the next distich, says it is by his having surmounted all regard for self (*ahankāra*).

[2] Janaka, a king of Mithilā or Videha, was reckoned among the great Rishis on account of his piety and wisdom. He is often mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It is there stated that he was constantly engaged in thinking on matters connected with a future life, and that

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

even by work. Thou oughtest to work, also, from regard to the masses of mankind (*g*).

Whatever is done by one who is high in position, that other men do, whatever it may be. Whatever example he offers, the people follow it.

Nothing whatever, O son of Pṛithā! must needs be done by me in the three worlds, nor is anything to be attained that is unattained, yet I am occupied in work.[1]

For if I should not be ever at work, unwearied (and men follow my path, O son of Pṛithā! from every part),

These worlds would sink in ruin. If I should not work, I should be the author of confusion,[2] and I should destroy this race of men.

25 As ignorant men do works with attachment, O son of Bharata! so the wise man should work without attachment, desiring to promote the general good.

he had a hundred religious teachers (Sans. T. i. 429). His other name was Siradhwaja (he whose sign or banner is a plough), from which we may infer that he was famed for having introduced improvements in agriculture.

[1] Kṛishṇa, in his divine nature, had no earthly object to gain. The work to which he alludes is not, as Mr. Thomson supposes, the work of a Kshatriya (the warrior caste), but his labour in maintaining and directing all things. Cf. the Mahābhārata (Sabhā-parvan, 1390–95). "It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through Kṛishṇa. He is the undeveloped Prakṛiti (primal matter), and the Eternal Maker. Intellect (*buddhi*), mind (*manas*), and the Great One (*mahat* = buddhi in the system of Kapila, here perhaps the soul), air, fire, water, sky, earth, whatever fourfold being exists is established (pratishṭhitam) in Kṛishṇa" (Sans. T. iv. 209. I have slightly altered the translation).

The whole passage shows a reaction in the mind of our author against the excesses of the Yoga system.

[2] Confusion of the castes, according to the Hindū scholiasts, but probably more was implied than this, though confusion of castes is, to a Brāhman, the direst of evils. See Manu iii. 17, 18, 19.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Let him not cause distraction of mind in ignorant men who are attached to works: let the wise and devout man promote (*h*) every kind of work, co-working therein.

Works are done entirely by the modes of Nature (*Prakṛiti*).[1] He whose soul is bewildered by vanity (*i*) thinks, "I am the doer;"

But he who knows the truth of the separate parts of modes and works,[2] O mighty-armed! thinking thus, "Modes are occupied with (or in) modes," (*j*) is not bound.

They who are confused by the modes of Nature (*Prakṛiti*) are bound by the works of the modes. Let not him who knows the whole (truth) cause dull men, who know not the whole, to falter (in action).

30 Renouncing all works in Me,[3] fixed in thought on the

[1] The soul, which is the true self, never acts. Its proper state is one of absolute isolation and repose. All action is due to the modes of nature (*Prakṛiti*). These, as they are variously compounded, produce actions which are relatively good or bad, but all action is inferior to repose. Man is represented as having a dual nature, consisting of the soul, which is passive, and its material envelopments, in which the modes are continually acting. The wise, knowing this, allow the action of the modes to go on, but are not concerned by it. The ignorant, who think that the soul acts, look for reward (as of heaven, for instance), not for absolute freedom from all contacts with matter in *nirvāṇa*. "I have not the nature of the Modes; works are not mine" (Śrīdhara, referring to the soul as the real self).

[2] The point in question here is not, as Lassen and Thomson have supposed, the *difference* between actions and the modes, but the parts which they severally play. *Vibhāga* means part, share, allotment, and expresses here the assigned share or allotment of each in their separate but mutually dependent existence. All action is due to the modes, and the modes are affected in their subsequent distribution and arrangement by the actions of each successive life, and form a higher or lower condition.

[3] "Give up all works by means of thought on the Supreme Spirit" (Śrīdhara). The verb used by Śrīdhara means to consign, intrust, deliver; but here, I think, to give up, "übergeben," "übertragen" (Peters. Dict.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Supreme Spirit (*k*), free from hope and selfishness, put away thy sorrow and fight!

The men who ever follow this my doctrine,[1] full of faith and unreviling, are set free even by works:[2]

But know that they who follow not my doctrine, reviling it, these, senseless and confused in every (kind of) knowledge, are wholly lost.

Even the wise man tends to that which is conformed to his own nature; all beings follow (their) nature; what then will opposition effect?

Love and hatred are seated in the objects[3] of the senses. Let none come under the power of these two (affections), for they are his foes.

Better is one's own duty,[4] though faulty (in the work) (*l*), than another's though well done. Better is death in one's

[1] Kṛishṇa calls the doctrine his, because he was considered to be the lord of devotion, and is sometimes so called (c. xviii.) Those who reviled the doctrine were the Vedāntists, and especially the Śaivyas, who identified their own especial deity, Śiva, with the Supreme God, Brahmā.

[2] This is not completely in accordance with either the Sānkhya or the Yoga system. The first admitted only knowledge as the means of final emancipation; the second, only mystic devotion. Our author admits the necessity, and even the advantage, of action, if done without "attachment."

[3] Mr. Thomson's version is, "Love or hatred exists towards the objects of each sense." Lassen's is more correct: "Rebus sensui cuilibet subjectis propensio et aversatio necessario inhærent." So also Burnouf: "Il faut bien que les objets des sens fassent naître le desir et l'aversion." The soul is passive. All emotion, of whatever kind, springs from the mode of Nature, called *rajas* (passion; sometimes translated "foulness," for the two ideas are closely connected in the Hindū mind), and must be subdued. Śankara says that Nature can only work by means of these affections, and if one withstands their force, he is then at liberty to follow the Śāstras (sacred books). This is in answer to the question, How can the Śāstras be followed if Nature be so powerful? (Telang). But the perfect Yogin, in the judgment of our author, was above all Śāstras.

[4] By duty (*dharma*) is here meant the fulfilling of the caste-obligations, as that of a Kshatriya to fight; the influence of the writer's position as a Brāhman modifying the pure Yoga system.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

own duty: another's duty is full of danger (lit. fraught with fear).

ARJUNA *spoke.*

But by what is a man impelled, O Varshneya! when he commits sin even against his will, as if compelled by force?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

It is lust: it is wrath, born from the "passion"-mode: know that this, all-devouring, all-defiling, is here our foe.

As a flame is covered by smoke and a mirror by rust; as a fœtus is enveloped by the womb, so the world is enveloped by this.

Knowledge is enveloped by this, which is the eternal foe of the wise man; which takes forms at will, O son of Kuntī! and is an insatiable flame.

40 Its seat is declared to be in the senses, heart, and mind; by these it bewilders the embodied (soul),[1] casting a veil over knowledge.

Wherefore restrain from the beginning the senses, O chief of Bhāratas! and then cast off this sinful thing that destroys both divine and human knowledge (*m*).

Men say that the senses are great; the heart (*manas*) is greater than the senses; the mind (*buddhi*) is greater than the heart, but this is greater than the mind.

Knowing, then, that this is greater than the mind, strengthen thyself by thyself, O large-armed one! and slay this foe, which takes forms at will and is hard to meet (*n*).

[1] The *manas* may give distorted sensations, and may be excited by passion. Hence the soul, which is a spectator only, may be bewildered.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Third, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY WORK."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Nishṭhā.* Telang translates it by "path." S'ankara's gloss is "two kinds of fixed rule." Lassen's version is "vitæ institutum."

(*b*) *Prajāpati,* Lord of creatures, a title of Brahmā as the creative power; comparatively of late introduction. It is found only once in the Rig-Veda, but often in later works. "This adorable and gracious God, Lord of all creatures, is known as Brahmā, S'iva, Rudra, Varuṇa, Agni, Prajāpati" (Mahābh. Anuś.-parvan, 4112). "Prajāpati created living beings. From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs, mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death, the destroyer of creatures" (S'at. Brāh. x. 1; Sans. T. iv. 55).

(*c*) *Kāmaduk.* Compounds of which the last member is the root of a verb have always an active force (Lassen). It means "that which causes (the object of) desire to issue."

(*d*) *Vyapāśraya,* lit. the act of taking refuge. "Auxilii ullius expectatio" (Lassen); "object of use" (Thomson); "son secours" (Burnouf). The meaning is, that he need not seek for refuge or help among any of mankind, because he is independent of all human aid. The Peters. Dict. renders it by "zuflucht," "zufluchtsstätte."

(*e*) *Asakta,* "unattached," *i.e.,* free from the entanglements of sensuous things, and therefore unconcerned whatever may befall him, or in any course of action.

(*f*) *Param.* "Summum bonum" (Lassen); "the highest region" (Thomson). It means absorption into the divine nature by *nirvāṇa.*

(*g*) *Lōkasangraha,* from *loka,* world, and *sangraha* (from *grah,* to hold), which here means assemblage. "Genus hu-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

manum" (Lassen); "l'ensemble des choses humaines" (Burnouf); but the reference is more to men than to things.

(*h*) *Joshayet*, a causative form of *jush*, to receive or regard with favour. Lassen and Thomson translate the passage, "The wise man should fulfil all actions;" but this does not express the causative action implied in the verb. Burnouf, more correctly, renders it thus: "Il leur fasse aimer leur travail." Telang has "Should set them to action."

(*i*) *Ahankāra*, self-consciousness, that which forms the ego; hence vanity or self-exaltation.

(*j*) *Guṇā guṇeshu vartanta.* This passage has been variously interpreted. "Qualitates in qualitatibus versantur" (Lassen); "les attributs (de l'ame) se rapportent aux attributs (de la nature" (Burnouf). This is certainly incorrect. "He who knows the truth of the difference between the qualities and actions, believing that they revolve in the qualities" (Thomson). Dr. Lorinser has accurately rendered it by "kräfte in kräften wirken nur;" the kräfte (*guṇās*) being the modes or constituent elements of *Prakṛiti* (Nature). All action is confined within them. The soul stands apart, and is not affected by them. Śrīdhara explains the word "modes" (*guṇās*) by the senses and the outward objects to which they are related and with which they act. Both the senses and their objects are formed from the modes or constituent elements of Nature (*Prakṛiti*). Śankara's gloss is, "The modes which have the nature of an organ deal with modes that have the nature of objects of sense."

(*k*) *Adyātman*, the Supreme Soul, Brahmă. Lassen's version is, "Cogitatione in intimam conscientiam conversâ," but this seems to be an error. "Der hochste Geist" (Peters. Dict.); "l'Ame Supreme" (Burnouf).

(*l*) *Viguṇa*, lit. wanting in (good) qualities, weak and erring. "Etsi deficientibus viribus" (Lassen); "devoid of excellence"

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(Thomson). S'ankara's gloss is that it is a work in which qualities are lost or absent (*vigata*).

(*m*) *Jnāna*, spiritual knowledge; *vijnāna*, separate or worldly knowledge. "Spiritual knowledge" and "spiritual discernment" (Thomson). "Knowledge is that learned from books or teachers; experience (*vijnāna*) is that which is acquired by personal perception and so forth" (Telang).

(*n*) *Durāsadam*, difficult of approach, and therefore difficult to affect or control. "Intractable" (Lassen and Thomson); "à l'abord difficile" (Burnouf); "hard to tame" (Telang); "dem schwer zu nahen, dem zu nahe zu kommen Gefahr bringt" (Peters. Dict.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE FOURTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

This eternal (doctrine of) yoga I taught of old to Vivaswat;[1] Vivaswat taught it to Manu; Manu told it to Ikshwāku.

This, being handed down from one to another, the royal sages (Rajarshis) knew. This yoga (doctrine) was lost in this world by length of time, O destroyer of foes!

This same ancient doctrine is now declared to thee by me, who have said, "Thou art my worshipper and friend," for it is a supreme mystery.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

The birth of my Lord was later;[2] the birth of Vivaswat

[1] The author of the Bhagavad Gītā, in order to give a divine sanction to the Yoga system, ascribes it in the first place to Kṛishṇa, as a personification of Vishṇu. He taught it to Vivaswat—that is, according to Madhusūdana, "to Āditya (the Sun), who was the source of the whole Kshatriya race." Manu, the son of Vivaswat, is the last of the seven Manus of Hindū mythology which have already appeared. He presides over the present *manwantara* (age of a Manu = 4,320,000 years), and is presumed to be the author of the Institutes of Law which bears his name. Ikshwāku, his son, was the first king of the Solar dynasty, and one of the Rajarshis, or royal saints.

[2] Kṛishṇa, in his present incarnate form, was born after Vivaswat, but as a form of Vishṇu he had had many previous incarnations or *avatāras*. They are generally reckoned as ten in number, but sometimes as twenty-two, and even as numberless, because all things spring from him. The first was in the form of a fish, which grew to a vast extent, by which he saved Manu, one of the progenitors of mankind, from an universal deluge, bidding him to build for himself and the seven Rishis an ark, which was fastened to the horn of the fish, and finally brought

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

was prior (to thine). How then may I understand this saying of thine, "I taught it in the beginning?"

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Many have been in past time the births of me and of thee also,[1] Arjuna! All these I know, but thou knowest them not, O slayer of foes!

Though I am unborn, and my nature is eternal, and I am the Lord also of all creatures, yet taking control of my Nature-form (*Prakṛiti*) (*a*), I am born by my illusive power (*māyā*).[2]

For whenever piety decays, O son of Bharata! and impiety is in the ascendant, then I produce myself.

For the protection of good men, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the re-establishment of piety, I am born from age to age.[3]

by it to a peak of Himavat (Sans. T. i. 183, 200). The last, in the person of Kalkin, has yet to be made. He will appear at the end of the present age (*Kali-yuga*) seated on a white horse, with a drawn sword blazing like a comet, to destroy the wicked and to form a righteous age.

[1] By transmigration in the case of Arjuna.

[2] By mystic power (*māyā*, illusion). There is here a trace of the later Mīmānsā or Vedāntist doctrine. It is the mysterious power by which Brahma caused a seeming world to issue from himself. The world has no real existence, according to the Vedāntists, for the only real existence is the One Universal Soul. Kapila taught that the external world was as real and as self-existent as soul, and Patanjali that the world of existing things (*sat*) is an emanation from Prakṛiti or primal matter, which is an inferior part of the dual nature of the One Supreme Being. It is not certain, however, that the word is used here in its full Vedāntist sense. In one of the Upanishads, the Śvetāśvatara (iv. 10), *Prakṛiti* (Nature) is called *māyā*, and the Great Lord, the illusionist; but the explanation of Mādhava is that illusion is a creative force in him, as heat is in fire (Müller's Sans. Lit., p. 321).

[3] The first four *avatāras* (incarnations) are said to have been in the first *yuga*, or age of the world (Kṛita), the three following in the second (Tretā), the eighth in the third (Dwāpara), the ninth in the present (Kali) age. The tenth has yet to come.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

He who truly knows my birth and this divine work of mine, comes nevermore to birth again when he quits the body: he comes to Me, Arjuna!

10 Freed from passion, fear, and wrath, thinking on Me and finding refuge in Me, many, purified by the ascetic rite (*b*) of knowledge,[1] enter into my being.

As men devote themselves to Me, even so do I honour them. Men follow my path, O son of Prithā! from every side.

They who desire success in works offer sacrifice here to the gods,[2] for soon in this world of mortals success is gained by works.

The four castes were created by me,[3] according to the apportionment of qualities (or modes) and works. Know that I, the uncreating and unchanging, am the creator of them.[4]

Works defile me not; in me there is no desire for the fruit of works. He who comprehends me thus is not bound by works.[5]

[1] Knowledge is called *tapas* (religious austerity) from its purifying influence. So in Manu (xii. 101) it is said that "knowledge of the Veda burns out the sin of the soul, born of work, as fire burns even moist wood."

[2] This is an accommodation of the Yoga system to the popular faith and practice. The gods are recognised, and offerings made to them may have some efficacy, but they cannot procure the final bliss of *nirvāṇa*.

[3] The four castes are the Brāhman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Śūdra. Cf. the account given by Manu i. 31: "That the human race might be multiplied, the Supreme caused the Brāhman, the Kshaṭriya, the Vaishya, and the Śūdra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet." This is, however, a late invention. The castes were not definitely fixed in the Vedic age, and the institution seems to have been developed gradually. (See Prof. Roth on the Lit. and Hist. of the Vedas.)

[4] This apparent contradiction is usually explained by the dogma that he who works without "attachment" does not really work (cf. v. 20 *infra*). We may, however, interpret the passage thus: "As Vishṇu (or Brahmā) I am the author of the castes, but not in my supreme form as Brahmā."

[5] His actions are not attended by such results as the gaining of heaven

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

15 Knowing this, works were wrought by men of old, who sought for (final) deliverance.[1] Wherefore do thou engage in work as it was done aforetime by the men of old.[2]

Even the wise (*c*) are troubled if one should ask, "What is action and what is inaction?" I will teach thee the kind of action by the knowledge of which thou wilt be free from evil.

For action must be well understood, and forbidden action, and also inaction: tangled is the path of works.[3]

He who can see inaction in action, and also action in inaction, he among men is wise; he is devout, and has fulfilled every work (*d*).

He whose every effort is free from the impulse of desire, whose work has been burnt up by the fire of knowledge,[4] is called by the wise a learned man (*paṇḍita*).

20 Renouncing all attachment to the fruit of works, ever contented, self-reliant (*e*), this man, though engaged in work, yet works not at all.

Void of hope, self-restrained in thought, and rejecting all surroundings, performing merely bodily work, he contracts no guilt.

or birth in another body; he is absorbed into the divine nature. Śankara says that for him there are no works requiring effort in another body.

[1] An absolute union with the divine essence in *nirvāṇa*.

[2] Fight as thy forefathers, who were of the Kshaṭriya (warrior) caste.

[3] The question of works is difficult and obscure, like a path in a tangled forest. Ananda says that *gahana* (hard to penetrate) means "understood or discerned with difficulty." Telang translates *gati* (way, path) by "essence." The Hindū commentators explain it as "truth" (*tattwa*), but it means rather the discussion of action, the laying down of its limits, than its essence.

[4] Since action arises from the modes of Nature, not from the soul, it follows that the soul has no necessary connection with it. Action is due to the conditions of our physical state, as some of our Western scientists teach.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Contented with whatever he may receive, unaffected by pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, &c.), free from envy, the same in good and evil fortune, he, though he works, is not bound.

The work of one in whom attachment is dead, who is freed (from things of sense) (*f*), whose mind is stayed on knowledge, wholly dissolves away, though he engage in sacrifice (*g*).

Brahma is the oblation; Brahma is the sacrificial butter;[1] Brahma is in the fire; the burnt-offering is by Brahma. Into Brahma will he enter who meditates on Brahma in his work.

25 Some devotees attend sacrifices offered to the gods; others offer sacrifice by sacrificing only in the fire of Brahma:[2]

Others sacrifice hearing and the other senses in the fire of self-restraint; others sacrifice the objects of the senses, sound and the rest, in the fire of the senses.

Others, too, sacrifice all the functions of the senses and of life in the mystic fire of self-restraint, kindled by knowledge.

Others also, subdued in mind and bound by vows austere, offer the sacrifice of wealth or penance or de-

[1] *Havis*, clarified butter, which is poured on the sacrificial fire; also other offerings cast into the fire, as grain, &c.

[2] The fire is the flame of devotion, created by Brahma himself. Compare a similar statement in Manu: "Others continually perform sacrifice by knowledge only." Other forms of devotion noted in this passage are mentioned by him: "Some who know the ordinances for these oblations perform not always externally the great oblations, but sacrifice continually in their sense-organs; some constantly sacrifice their breath in speech and their speech in breath, perceiving in their speech and breath an ever-accomplished sacrifice" (iv. 24, 23, 22). Sankara says that the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit is the austere rite or penance (*tapas*) by which men are purified.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

votion (*yoga*), or the sacrifice of silent reading and knowledge.[1]

So also others sacrifice the inward breath in the outward, and the outward breath in the inward, obstructing the channels of inspiration and expiration, intent on the restraint of breath.[2]

30 Others, who practise abstinence, sacrifice their life in life (*h*). All these are skilled in sacrifice, and by sacrifice their sins are destroyed.

They who feed on the ambrosial remains of sacrifices[3] go to the Eternal Brahma. This world is not for him who offers no sacrifice; how then the other, O best of Kurus?

Thus many kinds of sacrifice are offered in the presence of Brahma (*i*). Know that all these proceed from action: knowing this, thou wilt be free.

The sacrifice of knowledge is better than the sacrifice of wealth,[4] O slayer of foes! Every work, in its completeness, is contained in knowledge.

Learn this (knowledge) by doing reverence,[5] by questions, and by service. The wise, who see the truth, will teach thee knowledge.

35 When thou hast known it, thou wilt not come again to this trouble (of mind), O son of Paṇḍu! for thou wilt see

[1] The Hindū commentators show their Vedāntist bias by asserting that this means knowledge of the Śāstras or sacred books generally (Śankara), or of the Vedas (Śrīdhara). The knowledge of the Supreme Brahma is, however, here meant.

[2] Restraint of breath (*prāṇāyama*) is breathing through one nostril only, by closing the other.

[3] Cf. Manu iii. 285: "Let him who is able continually feed on the residue of a sacrifice to the gods, which is *amṛita*" (immortal food).

[4] Here the influence of the Sānkyha system is evident. Cf. Plato (Phædo, sec. 71): "None can attain to the rank of the gods but those who pursue philosophy and depart from the body pure; none but the lovers of true knowledge."

[5] By becoming the disciples and ministers of religious teachers.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

all things, without exception, in thyself and then in Me.[1]

Even if thou art the most sinful of all sinful men, thou wilt pass over all transgression by the bark of knowledge.[2]

As the kindled fire reduces all fuel to ashes, Arjuna! so the fire of knowledge reduces all works to ashes.

For no purifier is found on earth equal to knowledge. One who is perfect in devotion finds it in course of time in himself.

This knowledge is obtained by the believer,[3] who is devoted to it and has subdued the senses: when he has obtained it, he reaches without delay the supreme repose (*nirvāṇa*).

The ignorant man and the unbeliever, and he whose soul is full of doubt, are lost. He whose soul is full of doubt has neither this world, nor the next, nor (final) blessedness.[4]

Works do not bind the man who is master of himself, who has abandoned work in devotion (*yoga*), and in whom doubt is destroyed by knowledge, O subduer of wealth!

Wherefore slay this doubt, which is born of ignorance, and is seated in the heart, by the sword of knowledge; give thyself to devotion, and arise, O son of Bharata!

[1] Because all things have emanated from the One Supreme Being.

[2] He will gain remission of all past sins: they will bring on him no evil consequences, because sacred knowledge destroys sin.

[3] Dr. Lorinser refers to *śraddhā* (faith) as a proof of Christian influence. The argument is not without force, but is not perfectly conclusive, for all religions require faith.

[4] Neither the blessing of a higher birth, or that of heaven, or of final *nirvāṇa*.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Fourth, whose title is

"THE DEVOTION OF KNOWLEDGE."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Prakṛiti*, from *pra* (forth) and *kṛi* (to make), the primordial matter out of which all things have sprung.

(*b*) *Tapas*, from *tap* (to burn), means (1) heat, (2) pain, and (3) religious austerity of any kind. It is not always penance, but is often undertaken for the purpose of obtaining great merit or supernatural power.

The comp. *jnāna-tapas* (knowledge-tapas) is sometimes explained by Hindu Vedāntist scholiasts as a *dwandwa* compound, meaning knowledge and austerity; but in this case, as Lassen has shown, the word would have a dual ending. It is an ordinary or *tat-purusha* compound, answering to our English form sea-shore = shore of the sea. The attainment of knowledge is viewed by a Yogin as a religious act.

(*c*) *Kavayas*, wise men; lit. poets; a record of a time when all knowledge was commonly expressed in song.

(*d*) *Sa yuktas kṛitsnakarmakṛit.* "Is devotus cunctis operibus peragendis aptus est" (Lassen); "He is devout, and performs all his duty" (Thomson); "Il est en état d'union, quelqu'œuvre qu'il fasse" (Burnouf). The idea appears to be, however, that he who can act without any mental disturbance, or who perceives that pious meditation (*yoga*) is the highest form of action, is a devotee who has completed his task; his work is done, and he needs to act no more. Ananda seems to refer to the future state of the devotee. He becomes free from birth, occupation, or reward of works, and is (finally) set free (*mukta*).

(*e*) *Nirāśrayas*, self-reliant; lit. not requiring, or not seeking, refuge or shelter. Such a worker is independent of others, but he is constrained by a kind of fatalism, arising

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

from the action of the modes. The soul, which is the real self, does not act.

(*f*) *Muktasya*, lit. of one who is free. Mr. Thomson would read *yuktasya* (of one who is devout). But all the MSS. (including two in my possession) read *muktasya*. The argument that *mukta* means a man who has final deliverance only, is not sound. It is often used in the Nala and elsewhere with a lower meaning. Here it seems to be = *nirāśrayas* in v. 20, and to mean one who is free from the bondage of earthly desires or earthly conditions. Cf. *muktaka*, which, in the Peters. Dict., is translated "für sich bestehend," "selbständig." Śrīdhara's gloss is "freed from passion (*rāga*) and the rest."

(*g*) *Yajnāya ācharatas*, lit. one who has gone to a sacrifice. "Who acts for the sake of sacrifice, *i.e.*, instigated only by the spirit of devotion" (Thomson); "sacrificii gratiâ sese accingentis" (Lassen); "that sacrifice may be done" (Śankara), *i.e.*, not looking for reward after it. The sacrifice may be really offered, but being offered without "attachment," it may not prevent, it may even conduce to, *nirvāṇa*. It is no longer a work to which only heaven belongs as a reward. Śrīdhara's gloss is that he goes to sacrifice for the knowledge of the Supreme Lord.

(*h*) *Prāṇān*. In the plural the word means the five vital airs, and is = life. The devotee, by excessive abstinence, may offer life itself as a sacrifice. Śánkara, however, refers it to the restraint of breath.

(*i*) *Vitatā Brahmaṇo mukhe*. "Propagata sunt e numinis ore" (Lassen); so also Burnouf: "Institués de la bouche de Brahma." *Vitata* means spread out, and is usually connected with the sacrificial offerings. *Mukhē* being in the locative case, cannot have the sense of "out of," and commonly means "in the presence of;" lit. "in the face of." Mr. Thomson seems

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

to have offered the true version, "Are performed in the presence of the Supreme Spirit." The Hindū commentators, whom K. T. Telang follows, explain the passage as meaning that these sacrifices come from the Vedas, or are ordained by them. But this version is from a purely Vedāntist view, and is not in accordance with the opinions of the author of the Bhagavad Gītā.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE FIFTH.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

Thou praisest the renunciation of works, O Kṛishṇa! and on the other hand devotion.[1] Of these two which is the better one? Tell me that certainly.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Renunciation (of works) and devotion by works both procure supreme blessedness (*a*); but of these devotion by works is more esteemed than renunciation.

He must be regarded as a steadfast renouncer who neither hates nor desires; for he whom opposites[2] affect not, O large-armed one! is freed from the bonds (of action) with ease.

Young men speak of the Sānkhya and Yoga (doctrines) as being diverse, but not the learned. He who devotes himself to one only obtains the fruit of both.

That seat which the Sānkhyans obtain is entered into by Yogins also.[3] He who sees that the Sānkhya and the Yoga are one sees indeed.

[1] Having spoken of the nature and effects of spiritual knowledge, the writer goes on to reconcile the Sānkhya and the Yoga systems, by explaining that the Yoga system, in prescribing that all actions be done without "attachment," enforces a real renunciation, and is based on true knowledge.

[2] Such as pleasure and pain, heat and cold, &c.

[3] It is assumed that the Sānkhyans may gain the seat here mentioned, *i.e.*, the divine nature of Brahmā; but Kapila did not teach this doctrine. The soul, as he taught, when finally emancipated from matter, remains in a state of unconscious repose, but in its own individuality.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

But renunciation (of works) is hard to gain, O large-armed one! without devotion. The recluse (*muni*) who is fixed in devotion goes to Brahma without delay.

He who is fixed in devotion, pure in soul, who is master of himself and subdues the senses, who identifies himself with everything that exists,[1] is not defiled even though he work.

"I do not work at all;" thus the devotee who knows the truth may think,[2] in seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, walking, sleeping, and breathing;

In talking, in letting go, or holding, in opening or closing his eyes, affirming thus: "The senses are occupied with the objects of sense."

He who works, having given up attachment, fulfilling (all) works in Brahma, is not defiled by sin, like a lotus-leaf in water.[3]

By the body, by the heart (*manas*), by the mind (*buddhi*), even by the senses (*b*) alone, Yogins, giving up attachment, do their work for the purifying of themselves.

The devout man, when he has renounced the fruit of works, obtains eternal peace. The undevout, attached to the fruit (of works) by the impulse of desire, is bound.

The embodied (soul), renouncing all works by the heart

[1] Mr. Thomson explains this to mean, "who considers all beings to be the same as himself, and feels towards them accordingly;" but the perfect Yogin attains to an absolute indifference to all persons and things (c. vi. 4). The meaning seems to be, that such a person, even before attaining to *nirvāṇa*, loses all sense of individuality, and is merged in the universal life of the world, as an emanation of Brahmā. It is what the Buddhists call *kilesanibbānaṁ*, or extinction of human passion, as distinct from *khandhanibbānaṁ*, or extinction of being, but leading to it. (Childers, Pali Dict., s. v. *nibbānam.*)

[2] See c. iii.

[3] The lotus-leaf is said to be uninjured by a long immersion in water; so he that acts without "attachment" is not soiled by acts of any kind.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*manas*) (*c*), and self-controlled, dwells at ease in the city of nine gates,[1] neither working nor causing to work.

The Lord of the world creates neither the faculty of working nor works, nor the connection of works and fruit, but the proper nature (*d*) of each (herein) is in action.[2]

15 The Lord takes not upon himself (*e*) the sin, nor even the well-doing of any.[3] Knowledge is veiled by ignorance, and hereby men are bewildered.

But for those in whom this ignorance of the soul is destroyed by knowledge, the Supreme is revealed by knowledge, which is (resplendent) as a sun.

Thinking on Him (lit. That), one in soul with Him, stayed on Him, intent on Him (as the final goal), they go to that from which there is no return,[4] their sins being taken away by knowledge.

In a learned and modest Brāhman, in a cow,[5] in an elephant, even in a dog and a Śwapāka,[6] they who have knowledge see the same (thing).

Even here below the world[7] is conquered by those who

[1] This means the body, which has nine gates to the outer world—the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and the organs of excretion and generation. The soul does not act; it sits, like an Eastern monarch, in isolated grandeur.

[2] Śankara connects this with Prakṛiti (Nature), *i.e.*, with material elements only.

[3] Brahma, like the human soul, dwells in an absolute isolation, which the actions of men cannot affect.

[4] They do not return to the world in any state whatever, for they have gained eternal absorption into Brahma.

[5] The cow was, and is still, venerated by the Hindūs. The dog is the lowest of animals in their esteem.

[6] The Śwapāka, the Cagot of India, is the most degraded of all men. He is condemned to the lowest offices, such as carrying out dead unclaimed bodies. He was formerly obliged to dwell outside the city gates, and could possess no other animals than asses and dogs. (See Manu x. 51)

[7] *Sarga*, lit. emanation, is interpreted by Śankara as *janma* (birth), and by Śrīdhara as *sansāra* (the concourse of men, the world of mankind).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

are ever equable in heart; for the sinless Brahma is equable, therefore they abide in Brahma.

Let no man rejoice in attaining what is pleasant, nor grieve in attaining what is unpleasant, being fixed in mind, untroubled, knowing Brahma and abiding in Brahma.

He whose soul is unattached to outward contacts (impressions from material things) finds happiness in himself; his soul, joined by devotion (*yoga*) to Brahma, enjoys eternal blessedness;

For the pleasures that are born of (these) contacts[1] are the wombs of pain: they begin and end, O son of Kuntī! not in them the wise man delights.

He who even here, ere he is freed from the body, can resist the impulse born of lust and wrath, he is devout (*yukta*); he is blessed.

He who is happy in himself, pleased with himself, who finds also light in himself, this Yogin, one with Brahma, finds *nirvāṇa* in Him.

The Rishis,[2] whose sins are destroyed, whose doubts are removed, who are self-restrained and pleased with the well-being of all that live, obtain *nirvāṇa* in Brahma.

They who are freed from lust and wrath, who are subdued in nature and in thought, and who know the soul, are near to *nirvāṇa* in Brahma.

When the *muni* has made external contacts (purely) external, and looks between his eyebrows; has made his inward and outward breath equal, directing it through the nostrils;

[1] The pleasures born from the contact of the soul with outward things, mediately through the *buddhi* (intellect) and the *manas*.

[2] Meaning here only "wise and holy men." In the older Hindū mythology its meaning is more limited.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Then with senses, heart, and mind subdued, intent on final deliverance, having put away desire, fear, and wrath, he is for ever free.[1]

He who knows Me as the enjoyer of sacrifice and austere rites,[2] as the mighty lord of all the worlds[3] and the friend of every living thing, he attains to peace.

[1] He is virtually one with the Supreme Brahma, and is for ever free from the evil influence of matter. In the Kaṭha Upanishad there is an expression of the same idea. "When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal; even here he attains to Brahma."

[2] This is not in accordance with the common Hindū idea of Brahma, either as the Supreme Spirit (Brahmă), or as the Creator (Brahmā), for he is supposed to dwell in a state of absolute repose and isolation. (See dist. 15, *supra.*) He is rarely an object of worship in India. It is only as represented by Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa that he can be pleased by sacrifice and austere practices.

[3] These worlds are eight in number, rising from the worlds of giants and demons, Pisāchas, Yakshas, and Rākshasas, to the *Gandharva loka* (world of the heavenly musicians), the heaven of Indra, of the Moon, of the Pitṛis (first fathers of mankind), up to that of Brahmā, the highest.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Fifth, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY RENOUNCING WORKS."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Ni: śreyasa*, "final bliss." "Id, quo melius quidquam excluditur: ea hominis conditio qua melior fingi nequit, *i.e.*, finis bonorum" (Lassen); "Kein besseres über sich habend," "jemandes bestes, heil, erlösung" (Peters. Dict.)

(*b*) *Kevalair indriyair api*, "even by the mere senses." Schlegel translated the passage by "cunctisque sensibus etiam," but Lassen altered the version to "mero sensuum ministerio etiam," which Mr. Thomson adopted. *Kevala* means (1) alone, not in company with others; (2) what is included in itself, abstract, absolute. Hence, *kaivalya*, the abstract state of a complete Yogin. Even devotees work by material faculties, for *buddhi* (intellect) and *manas* (the inner receptive faculty) are produced from Prakṛiti (primal matter), and these faculties were produced that the soul might know itself, as distinct from matter, which is the source of pain and impurity. Ananda says that the work referred to in this passage means a Vedic work done with self-restraint. S'rīdhara, that the work done by the senses is that of hearing or reciting the praise of the Supreme.

(*c*) *Sarvakarmāṇi manusā sannyasya.* "Cunctis operibus ex animo sepositis" (Lassen); "Le mortel qui par la force de son esprit, pratique l'abnegation dans tous les actes" (Burnouf). The *manas* seems to represent here all the inward faculties, and the meaning will be, "He that has renounced all works by mental abstraction or devotion dwells at ease," &c. S'ankara explains the passage as meaning that this is done by the mind becoming separate (from worldly things). According to S'rīdhara, this renunciation of work is by the *manas* being distinctively devout (*vivekayukta*).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*d*) *Swabhāva*, the union or assemblage of qualities which form the individuality of a person. This means the arrangement and proportion of the three Modes, or constituents of Prakṛiti (Nature) in each individual. According to these, a man works, but the soul, like the Supreme Brahma, takes no account of the actions which result from them. Ananda glosses the word by *prakṛiti* (Nature).

(*e*) *Ādatte.* "Accipit" (Lassen); "se charge" (Burnouf); "nimmt auf sich" (Lorinser). The verb *dā* with *ā*, means to take to one's self, to appropriate: "nehmen, sich zueignen, an sich ziehen" (Peters. Dict.) The meaning is, that the Supreme Brahma takes not either good or evil deeds as his own. He has not produced them, and no part of their merit or demerit belongs to him. They are due solely to the material elements in each individual nature. Śankara explains the word by *grihṇāti*, from *grah*, to take, to take to one's self, to invest one's self with.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE SIXTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

He who does a work that ought to be done,[1] without seeking the fruit of works, he is a renouncer, he is a devotee (*yogin*), not the man who uses not the (sacrificial) fire, nor he who does no (pious) work.[2]

Know, O son of Pāṇḍu! that what men call renunciation, that is devotion (*yoga*),[3] for he who renounces not all projects (*a*) (of action) is not a *Yogin.*

Work is said to be the means for a recluse (*muni*) who desires to attain to *yoga,* but for him who has attained to it, repose is said to be the means.[4]

For he who renounces all projects, and is not attached to the objects of the senses or to works, is called a perfect *Yogin.*

Each one ought to raise himself by himself (*b*), and not to debase himself, for he himself is the friend of himself,[5] and also his foe.

[1] Such duties as are enjoined by religion or caste.

[2] Lit. "not the man without fire and work," *i.e.*, sacrificial fire and work.

[3] Here the union of the essential principles of the Sānkhya and Yoga systems is again attempted. Both lead to a renunciation of works, even works of devotion; but Kapila sought to obtain it by philosophical knowledge and Patanjali by mental abstraction, leading to the mystical union with Brahmā which is called *yoga.*

[4] For the full attainment of the Yogin's aim—absorption into the divine essence.

[5] This passage is obscure, for *ātman* has the double sense of "soul" and "self." In the original there is a play on this double sense. Mr. Thomson translates the last clause, "But by the enmity of what is not

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

He is a friend to himself who by himself has conquered self, and self too may become as a foe by the hatred of that which is not self.

The sovereign spirit of him who is self-conquered and placid is self-contained (*c*) in cold and heat, in pain and pleasure, and also in honour and dishonour.

The Yogin whose soul is content with divine and human knowledge,[1] who dwells on high (*d*), whose senses are subdued, and who accounts a clod, a stone, or gold alike, is called a perfect devotee (*yukta*).[2]

He is esteemed (*e*) who is equal-minded to companions, friends, enemies, strangers, neutrals, to aliens[3] and kindred, yea, to good and to evil men.

10 Let the Yogin constantly practise devotion, fixed in a secluded spot, alone, having thought and self subdued, renouncing hope and all surroundings (*f*).

Having placed himself in a permanent seat, in a cleanly spot, neither high nor low, and furnished with a cloth, a deerskin, and kusha grass:[4]

spiritual (*anātman*) his self might be an enemy, as it were, to his own soul." The question is, whether we are to understand that by the soul's repulsion to what is not soul it may become an open foe, or that by the enmity of what is not soul it may be stirred up to enmity in return, and war may arise between them. Lassen's translation is: "Propter inimicitiam autem erga id quod non spiritale est, spiritus inimici more se gerere potest." I understand the passage to mean that the sensuous part of man's dual nature may become an enemy to the soul, by linking it still to bodily conditions; its proper aim being to free the soul from them by knowledge or by pious meditation. The soul, thus debarred from its final blessedness, may take up the position of an enemy to the whole self; and thus, by losing its perfect repose, it may itself retard the attainment of its full deliverance. When this has been attained, then the soul dwells in unconscious repose, according to Kapila; it is lost in the divine nature, according to Patanjali.

[1] *Jnāna* and *vijnāna*. For an explanation of these terms see p. 57.

[2] *Yukta*, lit: "joined," *i.e.*, to the Divine Being in pious meditation.

[3] *Dweshya*, hateful; a term applied to foreigners.

[4] *Kuśa*, a kind of grass (*poa cyno-*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

There, having fixed his heart on the One, all the workings of the senses and of thought restrained, resting in his seat, let him practise devotion (*yoga*) for the purifying of the soul.

Holding his body, head, and neck constantly unmoved, gazing steadfastly on the tip of his nose, and looking not around;

Tranquil in soul, exempt from fear, steadfast in the vow of a Brahmachārin,[1] restraining his heart, let him sit in devotion, thinking on Me, intent on Me.

15 The Yogin, thus constantly devout in soul, with heart subdued, attains to peace, the supreme *nirvāṇa* that is in Me.

But devotion is not for him who eats too much, or for him who fasts excessively; not for him who is disposed to sleep too much, or for him who is ever wakeful, Arjuna!

The devotion which destroys all trouble is for the man who is moderate in food and in recreation, who uses moderate effort in his actions, is moderate in sleep and in waking.

When he fixes his well-controlled thoughts on himself alone, and is indifferent to every object of desire, then he is called "devoted" (*yukta*).

suroides) often used in the religious rites of the Hindūs. It is supposed to have a purifying influence. Among the daily prayers of the Brāhmans are these: "As a tired man leaves drops of sweat at the foot of a tree; as he who bathes is cleansed from all foulness; as an oblation is sanctified by holy grass; so may this water purify me from sin." "May the Lord of thought purify me with an uncut blade of *kuśa* grass and with the rays of the sun" (Rel. Cer. of the Hindūs, Colebrooke, Asiat. Res. v. 354, 361). In the Institutes of Manu (ii. 75), a Brāhman, before he reads a Veda, must sit on *kuśa* grass and purify both his hands by rubbing them with the "holy grass."

[1] A Brahmachārin is a young Hindū under instruction, and bound by vows of chastity and obedience.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

"As a lamp sheltered from the wind does not flicker," this is the wonted simile of the Yogin who is subdued in thought, and is engaged in the devotion of the soul.

20 When thought is wholly at rest, restrained by the practice of devotion (*g*), and when, contemplating himself in himself, he is satisfied in himself;

When he knows the boundless joy which is beyond the senses, which (only) the mind apprehends, and fixed therein never wavers from the truth;

When, having obtained it, he thinks that no other acquisition is superior to this; when abiding therein he is not moved even by a heavy affliction;

Let him know that this severance from all contact with trouble is called *yoga*. This *yoga* must be practised through the means of a determined repression of the mind (*h*).

Renouncing absolutely all desires produced by projects (of ambition or gain), restraining the whole group of the senses in every part by the heart,

25 Step by step he may gain repose by the mind being firmly restrained (*i*); having caused the heart to remain within itself, let him wholly cease to think.

Whenever the wavering and unsteadfast heart wanders away, then so often let him subdue it and bring it back to the control of the soul;

For supreme happiness comes to the Yogin whose heart is at rest, in whom passion is tranquillised, who is one with Brahma,[1] and free from sin.

The Yogin ever thus uniting his soul (to Brahma), who has ceased from sin, enjoys easily the boundless happiness of union (lit. contact) with Brahma.

[1] The universal soul which pervades and comprehends all created things.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

He whose soul is united by devotion (to Brahma), seeing the same in all around, sees the soul in everything, and everything in the soul.

36 He who sees Me[1] everywhere and everything in Me, him I forsake not, and he forsakes not Me.

The Yogin who worships Me as dwelling in every creature, being intent on oneness, dwells in Me, whatever may be his course of life.[2]

He who sees the same (essence) in everything, Arjuna! whether it be pleasant or grievous, from the self-resemblance (there),[3] is deemed to be a most excellent Yogin.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

I see not the firm continuance, O slayer of Madhu! of this devotion which thou hast said to be through equanimity (*ǰ*), because of the unsteadfastness (of the heart).

For the heart (*manas*) is fickle, O Kṛishṇa! it is turbulent, strong, and obstinate. Its restraint seems to me as difficult as that of the wind.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

35 Doubtless, O large-armed one! the heart is hard to restrain, and it is fickle; but it is restrained, O son of Kuntī! by practice and by indifference (to worldly gain).[4]

[1] The One Supreme, Brahmă, here represented by Kṛishṇa.

[2] Whether living a contemplative or an active life, say some scholiasts. Raghavendra says, whether living righteously or unrighteously, for knowledge, though connected with an impure life, leads to final emancipation (Telang).

[3] Who identifies all things, of whatever kind, with himself, as equally emanations from the one source of life. "He who sees equally all beings in soul (or self) and soul in all beings, he, the sacrificer of self, goes to the Lord Ruler (Īśwara)" (Manu xii. 91).

[4] Lit. "by the absence of passion" (*vairāgyena*). Lassen and Thomson translate it by "temperance," Telang by "unconcern."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®

Devotion, as I judge, is hard to be obtained by the man who is not self-controlled, but he who is master of himself may obtain it, if he strive thereat.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

In what way does he go, O Kṛishṇa! who is endowed with faith but is not self-restrained, whose heart wavers in devotion, and who attains not to perfection therein?

Does he not perish like a riven cloud, repulsed from both,[1] being unsteadfast, and confused in the way of Brahma,[2] O mighty-armed?

It is meet for thee, O Kṛishṇa! to destroy completely this doubt of mine, for no destroyer of this doubt exists except thyself.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

40 He does not perish, O son of Pṛithā! in this world or in the next, for no one who acts uprightly, O friend! goes the evil way.[3]

He who wavered in devotion, after he has attained to the regions of the just[4] and has dwelt there for unnumbered years, is born again in a house of the good and great.[5]

Or he is born in a family of wise devotees (*yogins*); but a birth like this is hard to be obtained in this world.

[1] That is, Does not the man who forsakes ceremonial observances for the higher service of mental devotion, and fails in the latter, lose both heaven, the reward of the first, and absorption into the divine nature, the consequence of the latter? Dr. Lorinser thinks that failure in this world and the next is meant and refers to v. 40 *infra*.

[2] Failing in his attempts to fix his thought on Brahma.

[3] The descending path leads to births in an inferior condition, or even to Naraka (hell).

[4] One of the five heavens of the higher kind, chiefly that of Indra (c. ix. 21).

[5] *Śrimat* (prosperous, happy), here glossed by Śankara as *vibhūtimat* (eminent, powerful).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

There he receives the entire mental form (*k*) which he had in a former body,[1] and thus he strives again for perfection, O son of Kuru!

For by that former habit he is led on, even without his will. He who only desires to know *yoga* goes beyond the Brahman doctrine (*l*) (lit. word);

45 But the Yogin who strives with energy, who is purified from sin, and perfected by many births, goes at length on the highest way.

The Yogin is superior to the ascetics; he is deemed to be superior even to the men of knowledge;[2] he is also superior to the doers of works. Be thou then a Yogin, Arjuna!

But of all Yogins even, he who worships Me[3] with faith, his inmost soul being stayed in Me, him I judge to be the most devout.

[1] Compare the language of Plato in the "Phædo:" "And thus they [the souls of bad men] wander, until by the longing which they feel for the corporeal element which thus cleaves to them, they are again enclosed in a body. And they are enclosed in a body, as may be supposed, corresponding in its habits with the habits which they had in their former lives" (sec. 70).

[2] This is in accordance with the school of Patanjali. Kapila gave the highest place to the man who had a knowledge of philosophy. So, in part, Plato taught: "None can attain to the rank of gods but those who pursue philosophy and depart from the body pure; none but lovers of true knowledge" (Phædo, sec. 71).

[3] There is here probably an emphasis on the pronoun, as referring to Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa, assumed to be the true representative of Brahmā, in opposition to the sect which made Śiva his highest representative.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Sixth, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY SELF-RESTRAINT."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Asannyastasankalpa.* Lassen's version is, "Abdicato sui studio;" Burnouf's, "Le renoncement de soi-même." Thomson gives, "And has not renounced all (earthly) plans of interest." "Unless he renounces all fancies" (Telang). Śankara explains the word *sankalpa* as meaning "objects of sense causing desire;" Śrīdhara as denoting all "projects of gain (or reward)." We may interpret the passage thus: "One who has not renounced all worldly schemes." The word is compounded of *sam*, denoting union or completeness, and *kalpa*, form. It means both plan and resolve. "The determination of the will which gives to the thoughts for the present a determinate aim" (Peters. Dict.); also as "verlangen," "vorsatz."

(*b*) *Uddhared ātmanātmānam.* "Extricet semet sui ipsius ope" (Lassen); "Let him raise his soul by his own means" (Thomson). Burnouf has merely "qu'il se lève," but this leaves out the word on which the emphasis lies. I would translate the passage, "Let a man raise his soul (above sensuous things) by the soul itself." Compare Byron's similar expression, "And strengthen man by his own mind." Dr. Lorinser's translation, "Er ziehe sich selbst aus sich heraus" is certainly wrong.

(*c*) *Paramātmā samāhitaḥ.* Lassen's translation is, "Spiritus summum locum obtinens in se recolligitur;" Burnouf's, "L'Ame Suprême demeure recueillée;" Thomson's, "is intent on the Supreme Being." Śrīdhara interprets *samāhitaḥ* by *ātmanishṭa* (fixed in itself), and this appears to be the meaning of the word in this passage. Gatti's Italian translation has caught, I think, the true meaning:—

> "L'anima, poi che il primo posto ha preso,
> . . . in sè tutta è raccolta."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*d*) *Kūṭasṭha*, a compound of *kūṭa*, an apex, a summit, and *sthā*, to stand. Lassen translates the word literally, "In fastigio stans;" Thomson's version is, "Who stands above all." S'rīdhara explains the word by *nirvikāra*, one who changes not. The epithet seems to denote one who stands apart from men and human interests in a lofty isolation through *yoga*. S'ankara's gloss is, "He is free from agitation."

(*e*) *Viśishyate*, "is distinguished." Mr. Thomson mentions another reading, *vimuchyate*, "is delivered (from matter)." Lassen says that Madhusūdana mentions the latter reading, but he adds, "præstat vulgata." Three MSS. in my possession have *viśishyate*.

(*f*) *Parigraha*, a man's surroundings, such as family, retinue, possessions. "Sine comitatu" (Lassen); "without possessions" (Thomson); Telang, "without belongings." S'rīdhara's gloss is *śūnya*, "void," "desert."

(*g*) *Yogasevayā*. "Devotionis cultu" (Lassen); "by worship in devotion" (Thomson); Telang, more correctly, "by the practice of devotion."

(*h*) *Nirviṇṇachetasā*. One of the MSS. in my possession has the reading *nirviṇṇachetasaḥ*, and if this be the correct reading, the translation of the passage will be, "This devotion must be practised with the constancy of a mind in which thought has ceased." The common reading is, however, the instrumental case of the noun. Lassen's translation is, "Quo mens (rerum inde alienarum) immemor fiat," and that of Thomson, who generally follows Lassen, "By which thought becomes indifferent to every worldly object." Burnouf has, "Au point que la pensée s'abîme." S'rīdhara's interpretation is that "being free from self-disparagement or despondency" is meant, and Telang follows it by translating the compound by "undespairing heart." The authors of the Peters. Dict. explain *nirviṇṇa* by *überdrussig*. It means, primarily, being

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

weary of a subject, not wishing to know more of it. The meaning seems to be that devotion (*yoga*) must be practised by a constancy that subdues thought, or by which the practice of thought is worn out.

(*i*) *Buddhyā dhṛitigṛihītayā.* "Mente perseverantiam amplexâ" (Lassen); "by his mind's acquiring firmness" (Thomson). Telang, as usual, translates *buddhi* (intellect) by "resolve;" "with a firm resolve coupled with courage." *Dhṛiti* seems here to be used adverbially, and I would translate the passage thus: "Step by step repose may be gained by the intellect being firmly held (in quietude)." Śrīdhara interprets the passage as meaning that the mind must be made subject by being held with firmness or constancy. Śankara says, "by being constantly united to Brahma."

(*j*) *Sāmyena.* "Par l'identité" (Burnouf), *i.e.*, by identity with Brahma in meditation; Lassen, more correctly, has "equabilitate." Śankara glosses the word by *samatwa*, equality (of soul).

(*k*) *Buddhisamyogam.* "Mental application" (Thomson and Lassen); "le pieux exercice" (Burnouf). Telang interprets it as "contact with that knowledge" (of Brahma) which he had in a former life. Gatti's translation is, "The same disposition of mind," and this is, I think, a correct version. He regains his former mental state, with opportunities of rising to complete devotion. Śrīdhara refers the words to the man's former nature (*bhāva*).

(*l*) *Śabdabrahma ativartate.* "He only surmounts the verbal deity" (Thomson), explaining this to mean that he only acquires a mental knowledge of Brahma by teachers or philosophy, but does not approach him spiritually. This is substantially the same as Lassen's "theologiam meris verbis circumscriptam prævertit." Burnouf explains *sabdabrahma* as "la doctrine Brahmanique." Śankara and Śrīdhara would

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

limit the acquirement to rising above the desire of the fruit of actions prescribed by the Vedas. Telang translates *sabdabrahma* by "the word divine." There is no doubt that here the Vedas are meant. The Yogin by devotion rises above all the Vedic rites and doctrines.

The same expression (*śabdabrahman*) occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (iv. 29), where the reference is certainly to the Vedas:—"Wandering in the vast field of the Brahmanic word (*śabdabrahmaṇi*), which it is difficult to traverse, men do not recognise the Supreme, worshipping him as he is separately divided by the attributes (*linga*, mark or sign) in the hymns. When the Divine Being regards any man with favour, he, having become spiritualised (*ātmabhāvita*), abandons all thought which is set on the world and on the Veda." This may, however, be contrasted with the opposite opinion of Manu:—"The priest who may retain in his memory the whole of the Rig-Veda would incur no guilt if he should slay the three worlds and take food from any quarter whatever. By repeating thrice the *mantras* (hymns) and *brāhmaṇas* (commentaries) of the Rig-, Sāma-, and Yajur-Veda, with the Upanishads (pious treatises), he is freed from all sin" (xi. 262, 263).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE SEVENTH.[1]

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Hear now, O son of Prithā! how, if thy heart be fixed in Me, if thou continuest in devotion and findest refuge in Me, thou shalt, without doubt, know Me fully.

I will declare to thee completely the knowledge, divine and human, which, when thou hast known, nothing else here remains to be known.

Among the thousands of mankind, only one perchance strives for perfection, and even of those who strive for and obtain it, only some one knows Me in truth.

Earth,[2] water, fire, air, ether, the heart (*manas*), and also the mind (*buddhi*), and egoism (*ahankāra*), these (form) the eightfold division of my material nature (*Prakṛiti*).

5 This is the lower (nature), but know now my other higher nature,[3] the living principle, O large-armed one! by which the universe is sustained.

Understand that these[4] are the womb of all existing

[1] Here a separate division of the Bhagavad Gītā begins. The first six chapters are devoted mainly to the Yoga system of Patanjali. The six following treat of the Supreme Brahmā, who is the source both of gods and men, the only self-existent and eternal being.

[2] See Hindū Philosophy, Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 20.

[3] In the Sānkhya system, Prakṛiti (primal matter) is alone recognised. In the system of Patanjali this is regarded as only an inferior part of Brahmā; there is a higher spiritual essence, which is the animating principle of all things. Śankara says that its designation is *kshetrajna*, matter-knowing, and that it maintains life.

[4] I think the Hindū commentators are right in referring *etad* (this) to the composite nature of the Supreme, and not, as Mr. Thomson, to the "latter nature."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

things. I am the source of all the universe and its dissolution also.

There is nothing whatever that is superior to Me, O subduer of wealth! this All is strung together in Me, as a row of pearls upon a string.[1]

I am savour[2] in the waters, O son of Kuntī! I am the light in the moon and the sun; the word of praise (OM) (*a*) in all the Vedas; sound[3] in ether and virile force in men:

I am the pure odour in the earth and the brightness in the fire; the vital principle in all beings and the austerity (*tapas*) of ascetics.

10 Know, O son of Pṛithā! that I am the eternal seed of all things that exist. I am the intellect of the intelligent and the splendour (*b*) of the splendid.

I am also the strength of the strong, free from desire and passion[4] (emotion). I am desire in living things, not forbidden by holy laws, O prince of Bhāratas!

Know also that the natures formed by (the mode called) "goodness," and those also which are "passion-born" and "dark" are from Me; but they are in Me, not I in them.

Bewildered by these natures formed by the three modes[5]

[1] Cf. Mahābh. (Śānti-parvan, 1609). "In whom (Kṛishṇa), the Lord of beings, all beings formed of the modes (of Nature) are seated and dwell, as rows of pearls are (strung) upon a thread" (Sans. T. iv. 265).

[2] This is supposed to be the distinguishing property of water.

[3] Sound is the peculiar property of the ether.

[4] Desire (*kāma*) is said by Hindū scholiasts to mean the wish to retain what has been gained; passion, (*rajas*) the wish to obtain something not yet possessed. But this is doubtful. *Kāma* means desire, love, and also the object of desire; *rajas* is passion merely. "Not forbidden by holy law," *i.e.*, by the holy books (śāstras), as Śankara interprets the word *dharma*.

[5] These are the modes or constituent parts of Prakṛiti (Nature), which by their different combinations form the distinctive natures

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*guṇas*) (*c*), the whole world knows not Me, who am above these (modes) and eternal;

For this divine illusion of mine formed by the modes is hard to surmount: they pass over this illusion who worship Me alone.

15 The evil-doers and the foolish do not worship Me, nor the base, whose knowledge is taken away by illusion, who have entered into (*d*) (partake of) the nature of Asuras.[1]

Four classes of righteous men worship Me, Arjuna! the distressed, he who desires knowledge, he who seeks for gain, and the wise man, O chief of Bhāratas!

Of these, the wise man,[2] ever devout, who worships the One, is the most excellent; for I am dear above all things (*e*) to the wise man, and he is dear to Me.

All these are good, but the wise man I deem to be even myself (*f*); for he, devout in soul, is stayed on Me, the supreme way (or goal).

At the end of many births the wise man comes (*g*) to Me. The high-souled man, who says, "Vāsudeva is the All,"[3] is hard to find.

of individuals. The Supreme Spirit animates all the material world (Nature): it is therefore in Nature, but Nature is not in it. Men generally see only the lower part of the Divine dual nature, which veils the higher spiritual part. The material world is called *māyā* (illusion), not perhaps in the Vedāntist sense, as mere illusion, but because it deludes men into supposing that there is nothing else.

[1] Asuras, the name of a class of demons, inferior, and sometimes hostile, to the Aryan gods. (See Sans. T. iv. 151, 154.) Probably they were the gods of the aborigines, and the wars related in the Matsya Purāṇa, in which sometimes the Asuras were victorious but were eventually conquered, express a legendary tradition of a war of races and religions.

[2] That is, who knows Brahma and the soul. It is spiritual wisdom that is here assumed, as in Prov. ix. 10: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

[3] Vāsudeva, a name of Kṛishṇa. It is often found in the Mahābhārata. "Keśava (Kṛishṇa) is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsu-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

20 They whose knowledge has been carried away by lusts of any kind go to other gods, using divers rites, constrained by their own nature.

Whosoever desires to worship any one form (*h*) (of these) in faith, it is I who impart the steadfast faith of this man (*i*).

He, being devoted (*yukta*), seeks by that faith the favour of the god (*j*), and thus obtains the blessings which he covets, yet these are apportioned by Me alone.

But the gain of these men of narrow minds comes to an end.[1] They who sacrifice to gods go to the gods; they who worship Me come to Me.

The foolish think that I, the Unmanifested, am endowed with a manifest form,[2] not knowing my higher nature, which is imperishable and supreme.

25 Veiled by my mystic illusion (*k*), I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knows not Me, the Unborn and Eternal.

I know all beings, past and present, Arjuna! and

deva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings" (Udyoga-parvan, v. 2561; Sans. T. iv. 218). In the Vishṇu Purāṇa he is identified with the Supreme Brahma. "Worshipping thee, the Supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without worshipping Vāsudeva?" (Sans. T. iv. 38). The Bhāktas (men who practise *bhakti*, faith with adoration), a branch of the Vaishnavas, worship Vishṇu as Vāsudeva and wear no marks.

[1] Because the gods are only created beings, and they, with the worlds over which they preside, will be destroyed at the end of a kalpa.

[2] Mr. Thomson explains this to mean that they "believe some one of the gods, as Brahmā, Vishṇu, or Śiva, to be the Supreme Spirit;" and adds, "Our philosopher would seem to be cutting his own throat on this ground." This seems to be a mistake. Brahma had many representatives, and these are sometimes said to be one with him, and to have been incarnated in divers forms; but they were, as incarnations, a lower form of Brahma. In his proper nature, *swarūpa*, as Śankara describes it, he is spirit only.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

that shall be hereafter, but not one of them knows Me.

All beings, O son of Bharata! are bewildered in this world through the delusion of the pairs of opposites[1] that arise from love and hatred, O destroyer of foes!

But the men who are pure in their deeds, in whom sin is dead, these, freed from the delusion of opposites and steadfast in their vows, worship Me.

They who find refuge in Me and strive for deliverance from old age (*l*) and death know the whole Brahma, the Supreme Spirit and the complete Work.

30 The men, devout in mind, who know Me as Adhibhūta (Lord of beings), as Adhidaiva (Lord of gods), and as Adhiyajna (Lord of sacrifice), know Me indeed in the time of their decease.

[1] The pairs of opposites in this present life, such as joy, pain, gain, and loss, make men unduly sensible of material things, and hence they suppose that such things ought to be objects of liking or disliking. They are deceived. These things ought to be regarded with indifference. The soul is not of them, and must find its proper condition by attaining to a complete absorption into the Supreme Brahma.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Seventh, whose title is

"DEVOTION THROUGH SPIRITUAL DISCERNMENT."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Praṇava*, lit. praise, a common expression for the mystic syllable OM.

(*b*) *Tejas.* "Fortitudo" (Lassen); "strength" (Thomson); "the glory (of the glorious)" (Telang). It has the various meanings of sharpness, light, splendour, and vigour. S'ankara glosses it by *prāgalbhya*, rank, dignity.

(*c*) *Guṇamayair bhāvair.* "By dispositions composed of the three qualities" (Thomson). Lassen translates *bhāva* by "affectus;" Burnouf, by "propriété." *Bhāva* means existence, manner of being, and the phrase denotes the separate natures of individuals formed by the various combinations of the modes of *Prakṛiti* (Nature). S'ankara's interpretation is, "By objects formed by modifications of the modes."

(*d*) *Āsritās*, lit. having gone to or entered. "Sectantes" (Lassen). The gloss of S'rīdhara is, "Having obtained the very nature of Asuras." The word often means "having recourse to," "taking refuge with."

(*e*) *Atyartham*, supremely. "Above possessions" is the translation of Mr. Thomson, who supports his version by referring to the objects (*arthās*) which men seek to gain by offering sacrifice to gods. To the spiritually wise, the Supreme Brahma is the only object of desire. *Atyartham* is, however, used in the sense of extremely, without reference to possessions. In the Nalopākhyānam (Story of Nala xi. 20), it is said that a serpent seized Nala as she was wandering in a forest lamenting excessively (*krandamānām atyartham*) for the loss of her husband. A hunter, who had heard her loud wailing, came near and slew the serpent.

(*f*) *Atmā + eva*, "verily myself." Mr. Thomson would prefer an unsupported reading, *atma + iva*, as or like myself.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Lassen's rendering is, "Mei ipsius instar;" Burnouf's, more correctly, is, "Le sage, c'est moi-même." The scholiast Madhusūdana explains the passage *na matto bhinnaḥ*, is not separated from me.

(*g*) *Prapadyate*, falls down before, turns toward or approaches. Śrīdhara glosses it by *bhajati*, worships; Śankara by *pratipadyate*, returns. The latter seems the better interpretation.

(*h*) *Tanu*, body, and also skin, from *tan*, to spread out. Lassen translates it by "effigies;" Thomson by "personage." The word is used slightingly to denote that the gods are only material beings.

(*i*) *Achalām śraddhām tām eva vidadhāmi.* "Unicuique horum secundum fidem istam constantem ego (sortem suam) dispertio" (Lassen). Mr. Thomson calls this an "arbitrary and incomprehensible" translation. It is certainly arbitrary, because there is nothing answerable to *secundum* in the original, but it is not incomprehensible. Dr. Lorinser assumes that the verb, *vidadhāmi*, is equivalent to "ich vergelte," and his translation (I recompense the man who is always steadfast in this faith) nearly coincides with Lassen's. But this meaning does not belong to the verb. Mr. Thomson's version is, "I make that faith of his constant." The literal rendering is, "I impart even this unwavering faith."

(*j*) *Tasyārādhanam*, for *tasyāḥ*, &c., referring to *tanu*, a feminine noun (Lassen). "This one" is a contemptuous reference to the gods of the Hindū Pantheon. The more common arrangement is *tasya ārādhana*, the favour of this one; but Śrīdhara has *tasyāḥ*, of this (form). Examples of such a compound are rare, but Lassen has given one from the Rāmāyaṇa (i. 45, 9).

(*k*) *Yogamāyāsamāvṛitaḥ.* "Surrounded by my magic illusion" (Lassen and Thomson); "Enveloppé que je suis dans la

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

magie que l'union spirituelle (*yoga*) dissipe" (Burnouf). The latter version is quite untenable. Yoga means here the supernatural power which a perfect Yogin was supposed to obtain. The creative power of the gods was connected with *yoga* as meditation. "Then Vishṇu, sprung from Brahma, removed from the sphere of sense, absorbed in meditation (Yogātmā), became the Prajāpati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures" (Mahāb. Harivanśa, Sans. T. i. 152). In the same book Vishṇu is called the great Yogin (or Meditator). Śankara, however, connects *yoga* (union) with the modes or constituent elements of Nature.

(*l*) *Jarā*, old age. Mr. Thomson proposes to read *janma*, birth, but all the MSS., including three in my possession, read *jarā*. *Janma* would not be contrary to the metre, as K. T. Telang states, for the second syllable may be either long or short.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE EIGHTH.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

What is that Brahma? what Adhyātman? what is Karma (Work), O best of beings? What is that thou callest Adhibhūta? and that called Adhidaiva?

How is Adhiyajna here in this body, O slayer of Madhu? and how do self-restrained men know thee at the time of their decease?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Brahma is the Indestructible and Supreme One;[1] his proper nature (*a*) is called Adhyātman. The emanation that causes the birth of all living things is called Karma (Work).

[1] The Supreme Indestructible One is Brahmă. He is called Adhyātman (Supreme Spirit) because he is, in his purely spiritual form, the highest being. When he becomes the source of life, he is then considered as having another form, and has a new designation, Brahmā. The creation (*visarga*, sending forth) of all separate life is called emphatically Work. Ananda, however, glosses the word *visarga* by "offerings such as are directed by *śruti* (revelation) and *smṛiti* (tradition), for they are the causes of life;" but the work here referred to is the especial work of Brahmā. Śankara also gives the sense of "offering" to *visarga*, a meaning which it sometimes bears, or rather gift, donation in general; but I cannot think that it expresses the meaning of our author. He is Lord of beings, Adhibhūta, because he is their cause, both the efficient and the material cause. In the system of Patanjali, the Nature-form (Prakṛiti) of the Supreme is that from which all beings have sprung. This is termed by some Hindū writers as his *śakti* or energy, represented as being of a feminine kind. So also as creative force he is Adhidaiva, Lord of gods, and hence he is named Purusha (lit. Male), since "he is the cause of all life" (Śankara). The gods are only created beings. Cf.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Adhibhūta is (my) divisible nature (*b*), and Adhidaiva is the masculine (creative) principle (*purusha*). I myself, here present in the body, am Adhiyajna[1] (*c*), O best of men!

And he who departs, thinking on Me alone, enters, after quitting the body, into my being: of this there is no doubt.

Or if he, at the end (of life), quits the body while thinking on any other (god), he goes to that, whatever it may be, O son of Kuntī! being ever conformed to it in nature.[2]

Wherefore think on Me at all times and fight. When thou art fixed in heart and mind on Me, thou wilt without doubt come to Me.

He who meditates, with a mind engaged constantly in devotion, which never worships another god, on the Supreme Divine Being, goes to Him, O son of Pṛithā!

He who muses on the ancient Sage,[3] the Ruler (*d*), subtler than an atom, the All-sustainer, incomprehensible in form, shining like the sun above the darkness,

And in the hour of death is engaged in devotion with an unwavering heart, and also by the force of devotion

Rig-Veda x. 90: "Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes. . . . All earthly things are a quarter of him, and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky." Compare also Manu i. 1: "Produced from the cause which is imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, that Male (Purusha) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā."

[1] *Adhiyajna*, Lord of sacrifice, a name which Kṛishṇa gives to himself as the representative of Brahmā, and as being an object of worship suited to the limited capacities of men by becoming incarnate.

[2] If he desires heaven only, not *nirvāṇa*, he will think, for instance, on Indra in his dying moments, and will therefore rise to the heaven of Indra.

[3] Brahma is the "ancient (purāṇa) Sage" because he is without beginning; *purāṇa* being used here, as elsewhere, for "eternal as to the past."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

draws his breath together between his eyebrows,[1] that man goes to this Supreme Divine Being.

That way I will briefly describe to thee which they who know the Vedas call the Imperishable,[2] upon which enter the self-restrained and passion-free, which they who desire adopt a Brahmachārin's life.

He who has closed all the gates[3] (of the senses), confined his heart (*manas*) inwardly (*e*), placed the vital breath in the head,[4] constant in devotion;

Who continues to utter OM,[5] (the sign of) the One Imperishable Brahma, thinking upon Me; he who thus departs goes, when he quits the body, to the highest way.[6]

If one thinks ever on Me, never directing his thoughts to another (god), I am easily obtained by this constantly devout Yogin.

15 Having attained to Me, these great-souled men come not to life again, which is the seat of pain and is not eternal; they attain to the supreme blessedness.

The worlds, even to that of Brahma, return (*f*) again,[7]

[1] Cf. c. v. 27.

[2] The Supreme Being, called below (v. 21) "the highest way or seat."

[3] The organs of sense. So Śrīdhara and other commentators explain the word.

[4] Holding the breath as much as possible inwardly.

[5] Cf. the Bhāgavata Purāṇa xii. 6: "From this sound (*sphoṭa*, represented as coming from Brahma's heart) sprang the syllable OM, composed of three elements (A. U. M.), self-resplendent, of unmanifested origin, that which is the emblem of the Divine Brahma, the Supreme Spirit."

[6] Or "highest place," *i.e.*, Brahma.

[7] All the eight worlds will be absorbed in Brahma at the end of a *kalpa* or periodic time, and then come forth again, at his direction, when another *kalpa* begins. The day of Brahmā is explained in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 3, vi. 1, with Prof. Wilson's note). One year of mortals is = one day of the gods. There are four *yugas* or ages, which are thus determined: — (1.) The Kṛita Yuga = 4800 divine years; (2.) The Treta Yuga = 3600 divine

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Arjuna! but he who attains to Me knows birth no more, O son of Kuntī!

The men who know the day of Brahmā, which passes away after a thousand ages, and the night which ends in a thousand ages, know both day and night.

At the approach of day all the visible (manifested) universe issues from the Unmanifested;[1] it dissolves in Him who is called the Unmanifested at the approach of night.

All this mass of beings produced again and again dissolves at the approach of night, O son of Pṛithā! and comes forth, not by its own power (*g*), at the approach of day.

20 But above this visible nature there exists another, unseen and eternal, which, when all created things perish, does not perish.

This is called the Unmanifested, the Imperishable; this men speak of as the highest way: they who attain it never return. This is my supreme abode.

This Supreme Being, in whom all things dwell, and by whom all this (universe) has been spread out, may be attained to, O son of Pṛithā! by an exclusive devotion.

[I will declare to thee, O chief of Bhāratas! the time in

years; (3.) The Dwāpara Yuga = 2400 divine years; (4.) The Kali Yuga = 1200 divine years; making in all 12,000 divine years, and these are = 4,320,000 common years. One thousand of these periods form a day of Brahmā. This day of Brahmā is called a *kalpa*; 360 kalpas form his year, and a hundred such years form his lifetime, called *Para*.

[1] The "Non-developed," as Mr. Thomson translates the word. It denotes Prakṛiti, or primordial matter in its primal, undeveloped, or unmanifested state. *Avyakta* means "not manifest." Lassen translates it by "Invisible," Telang by "the Unperceived." Śankara says the Avyakta is the state of sleep of Prajāpati, *i.e.*, Brahmā as the lord of beings. Śrīdhara explains it as the unseen form which is the cause of what is made. (See Sānkhya Kārikā, pp. 35–45.)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

which devotees, when they die, go forth either not to return or to return (to life).

Fire, light, the daytime, the time of the waxing moon, the six months of the northern solstice, they who die in these, knowing Brahma, go to Brahma.

25 Smoke, the night, the time of the waning moon, the six months of the southern solstice, in these the devotee attains (only) to the lunar light and then returns.[1]

For these two ways of light and darkness (*h*) are deemed to be the eternal ways of the world: by the one, men go on the way in which there is no return; by the other, they return again (to life).

The devotee (Yogin), knowing these two ways, O son of Pṛthā! is in no wise troubled thereat. Therefore be engaged at all times in devotion, Arjuna!]

The devotee who has this knowledge overpasses all the sacred fruit (reward) offered by Vedas, by sacrifices, by

[1] These strange conditions, if the parts enclosed are genuine, seem due to a Vedāntist training of our author. Kapila had taught—and this part of his system seems to have been very generally received—that the soul is accompanied, in all its migrations, until finally emancipated from all contact with matter, by a body formed of the most subtle elements of matter, called *linga*. The soul, with the *linga*, passes through the great coronal artery to the crown of the head at the time of death; and then, as Hindū theologians teach, since the *linga* requires a light to guide it, if a ray of light rests on the crown of the head at that time, it may reach the highest heaven, that of Brahmā; but if otherwise, it may wander in the darkness, and cannot rise beyond the heaven of the Moon. The Hindū commentators attempt to make this doctrine a little more reasonable by assuming that the light does not represent a material element, but Agni, the god of fire. The passage is a curious instance of the grotesque folly which so frequently attends Hindū speculations, even of the highest kind. It is so much opposed, however, to the spirit which pervades the Bhagavad Gītā, that I cannot but judge it to be a late addition by some Vedāntist writer.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

austerities also and almsgiving, and he attains to the supreme primeval seat.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Eighth, whose title is

"DEVOTION TO THE SUPREME ETERNAL BRAHMA."

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Swabhāva*, translated by Telang as "change;" by Thomson, "his own nature;" "la substance intime" (Burnouf). Ananda interprets it by *swarūpa* (my proper form) and *swayam* (myself), and with this interpretation Śrīdhara agrees.

(*b*) *Kshara*, explained by Śrīdhara and Śankara as "perishable." Lassen has "dividua;" Burnouf, "divisible;" Thomson, "indivisible" by mistake.

(*c*) *Adhiyajna*, lord of offerings or worship. "Auctor religionum" (Lassen). Dr. Lorinser questions this translation on the ground that Kṛishṇa could not be so called, but that he might be in some manner the highest offering in his human form. The authors of the Peters. Dict. also translate the word by "das höchste Opfer," and Burnouf by "le premier sacrifice." It does not appear, however, that Kṛishṇa was regarded as a sacrifice of any kind, and *adhi*, as a prefix, often denotes a presiding or directing person. *Adhikarmakṛit* means one who presides over workmen. *Adhiyajna* means, I think, one who presides over sacrifices.

(*d*) *Anuśāsitāram.* "Moderatorem" (Lassen); "regulator" (Thomson). The root is *śās*, to order, to govern. This is the nearest approach to a Divine Providence that Hindū theology has ever made. It is not quite in accordance with

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the teaching of chap. v. 15, or with the common Hindū idea of Brahma.

(*e*) *Mano hṛidi nirudhya.* *Manas* is the sentient faculty, *hṛid* is the bodily organ; or, as Mr. Thomson expresses it, "*Manas* is the heart that desires and *hṛid* that which beats." The meaning is, Keep the affections in their own seat, *i.e.*, the breast.

(*f*) *Āvartino.* "Remeabiles" (Lassen). *Āvarta* means a winding round; *āvartin*, winding round or revolving. The meaning is not that they *may* return, or, as Mr. Thomson renders it, "subject to return," but that they revolve from being to not-being, *i.e.*, from visible being to absorption into Brahma, and *vice versâ*, at stated periods. The reference is not to the soul, "which is liable to return, after a certain sojourn, from any of the eight worlds," as Mr. Thomson asserts, but to these worlds themselves, which come and go in a certain revolving order. Śankara says, from their being defined by time. See chap. ix. 7.

(*g*) *Avaśaḥ*, not by will of their own, *i.e.*, at the command of Brahma. Mr. Thomson translates it by "spontaneously," adding in a note, "*Avāśa* cannot have its more usual signification of 'against their will,' since matter, being irrational, could have no will of its own, but rather 'without any will of their own,' *i.e.*, in agreement with the laws of necessity." But if so, it cannot emanate spontaneously. The constraining power is not a law of necessity, but a command from Brahma. Lassen has "ultro," probably by mistake; Telang, "devoid of power." Ananda explains the word by *aswatantra*, not independently, by their own act. *Tantra* means a thread, the art of weaving, and hence formation, cause. Śrīdhara's gloss is *paratantra*, dependent on another.

(*h*) *Śuklakṛishṇe gatī*, "these two ways of black and white." *Śukla* means also the increasing half of the moon's course, and

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

kṛishṇa the waning half. Light and darkness are common symbols of happiness and the reverse. The grotesque imagination of the Hindū has made the symbol to be a controlling cause; but it is strange that the soul, which is immaterial, and is often described or symbolised as "pure light," should depend on a material element for its guidance. Śrīdhara says that the devotee is not bewildered, because he does not desire heaven and the rest as a means of happiness, but has his abode in the Supreme Lord. But this does not explain how, if he dies when the moon is waning, he must return to earth again. I cannot believe that the enlightened author of the Bhagavad Gītā wrote these verses.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE NINTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Now will I declare to thee, who dost not cavil, that most mysterious knowledge, divine and human, which when thou knowest, thou wilt be free from evil.

Royal knowledge![1] royal mystery! the supreme purification this, comprehensible at sight, holy,[2] easy to practise, and eternal.

The men who receive not by faith this holy doctrine attain not to Me, O destroyer of foes! but return to the ways of this world of death.

All this universe has been spread out by Me, by my unmanifested material nature (*Prakṛiti*).[3] All things dwell in Me; I do not dwell in them;

And yet these things dwell not in Me.[4] See my royal mystery! (*a*). My spirit, which is the source of all, supports all things but dwells not in them.

As the mighty wind moves everywhere, but is ever contained within the ether,[5] know that thus all beings are contained in Me.

[1] *Rājavidyā. Rāja*, prince or king, here means chief, supreme.

[2] *Dharmyam*, according to law or right. *Dharma* often expresses a religious duty, but has here its most ancient meaning.

[3] *Prakṛiti*, or primordial matter, is here affirmed to be a part of Brahma. In the Purāṇas, Prakṛiti is the śaktī, or active energy of Brahmā, and is sometimes represented as his wife.

[4] Referring to the twofold nature of Brahma. They do not dwell in his higher spiritual nature.

[5] *Akāśā*, the ether, sometimes rendered "space." It is the subtle fluid which pervades all space. Sometimes it seems to denote the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

At the end of a *kalpa*,[1] all things, O son of Kuntī! go into my material nature; at the beginning of a *kalpa*, I send them forth again.

Resting on my material nature (*b*) (*Prakṛiti*), I send forth again and again all this mass of beings, without their will, by the power of Prakṛiti.

And these works, O destroyer of foes! bind not Me,[2] who sit apart as a stranger and in these works am unattached.

10 Nature (*Prakṛiti*), under my surveillance, gives birth to everything, moving or fixed (animate or inanimate), and by this means, O son of Kuntī! the world revolves.

Fools disregard Me when invested with a human body, not knowing my higher nature, the Supreme Lord of all.

Vain in hope, vain in action, vain in knowledge, and devoid of sense, these partake of the deluding (*c*) nature of Rākshasas and Asuras.[3]

But the great-souled men, O son of Pṛithā! who partake

absolute idea of space, but not in the Bhagavad Gītā.

[1] Cf. chap. viii. p. 97.

[2] All works, except works of devotion, bind the doer, *i.e.*, they connect him with bodily conditions, as their result, in a future life. The works of Brahmā are not followed by any consequences, because they are done without "attachment." So a perfect Yogin may act, and then attain to *nirvāṇa* (cf. chap. iii. 19).

[3] *Asuras*, giants or demons, enemies of the gods; their residence is in Pātāla, below the earth. The dark mode or constituent of Prakṛiti (*tamo-guṇa*) prevails in them. In the third book of the Mahābhārata they are placed between gods and men: "From Manu all creation, gods, Asuras, men, must be produced" (Ind. Wisd., p. 395). In the Institutes of Manu (iii. 25) they are connected with Pisāchas, a low order of demons. In the oldest parts of the Rig-Veda, however, Asura is the name of the Supreme Spirit, the Ahura of the system of Zoroaster. In the Purāṇas, the Asuras are represented as warring against the gods and sometimes overcoming them. The name was probably given to the gods of the aboriginal tribes (see Sans. T. iv. 154, 155). The Rākshasas are fierce demons, who guard the treasures of Kuvera, the god of wealth. Their name is derived from *raksh*, to guard. There is a dreadful account of one in the Rāmāyaṇa (iii. 2, 4), who was "like a mountain-peak, a man-eater, loud-voiced, hollow-eyed, huge, horrible, . . . bearing three lions, four tigers, two wolves, ten deer, and the head

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

of the divine nature,[1] worship Me with hearts resting on no other (God), knowing Me as the eternal source of all things.

Evermore glorifying Me, earnestly striving (after Me),[2] steadfast in vows and doing Me reverence, they worship Me with a constant devotion (*d*).

15 Others also, sacrificing with the sacrifice of knowledge,[3] worship Me, everywhere present in many forms by my oneness and my divisible nature.

I am the offering; I am the sacrifice;[4] I am the offering to forefathers;[5] I am the sacred herb;[6] I am the holy hymn[7] and the sacrificial butter;[8] I am the fire; I am the burnt-offering.[9]

of an elephant on the point of an iron pike." The Yakshas were demons of a similar kind, but placed by Manu (xii. 47) above the Rākshasas. He calls them "the servants and companions of Kuvera."

[1] In the gods the element (*guṇa*) of Nature, called "goodness," prevails. Śankara connects it with calmness, restraint, compassion, and faith.

[2] Striving to gain a true knowledge of Brahma (Madhasūdana), For restraint (of the senses), for calmness, self-control, &c. (Śankara).

[3] Mr. Thomson explains the sacrifice of knowledge to mean the recognising of Brahma in every act of worship, but the true Yogin rose above all pious acts except that of devout meditation. Śrīdhara says that by the knowledge which they gain of Vāsudeva being the All they offer an acceptable sacrifice. Śankara says it is by those, "who know that I am the Lord (*Îśwara*)."

[4] *Kratu* and *Yajna*. Śankara and other Hindū scholiasts say that *kratu* is a sacrifice enjoined by the Vedas (*śruti*), and *yajna* one required by tradition (*smṛiti*). But this distinction is not supported by the common use of the words. *Kratu* seems to denote sacrifice strictly; *yajna*, worship in general, of which sacrifice was a chief part. In the Sakuntalā, Indra is called *Śata-kratu*, he of the hundred sacrifices (p. 268, Williams's ed.)

[5] *Swadhā*, the offering of food to the manes of deceased ancestors.

[6] *Aushadha*, vegetable food or medicine (Śrīdhara); food produced by herbs (Śankara); a medicinal herb, in the Hitopadesa and in Nala.

[7] *Mantra*, a religious song. The *mantras* are the hymns of the Vedas and the commentaries are Brāhmanas.

[8] *Ajyam*, the purified butter used in sacrifice.

[9] *Huta*, that which is offered, the victim. Lassen and Thomson translate it by "incense." There is no authority, I believe, for this transla-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

I am the father, mother,[1] sustainer, and grandsire[2] of this universe. I am the object of knowledge, the lustration, the syllable OM;[3] I am, too, the Rig-, Sāma-, and the Yajur-Veda.[4]

I am the way,[5] the sustainer, the Lord, the witness,[6] the dwelling, refuge, and friend, the source and the destroyer (of life), the place, the depository,[7] and the eternal seed.

I cause heat; I withhold and I send forth the rain; I am also immortality and death, Arjuna! I am *sat* (formal existence) and *asat* (abstract, undeveloped being).[8]

They who follow the three Vedas, who drink the soma-

tion. The Peters. Dict. translates it by "das Geopferte." Cf. Manu (iii. 74): "*Ahuta* is *japa* (a low ut terance of sacred words); *huta* is oblation by fire (*homa*); *prahuta* is food offered to demons (*Bhutas*)."

[1] Cf. Plato in the "Timæus" (s. 24): "For the present then we must conceive three kinds of things: that which is made, that in which it is made, and that after the likeness of which it is made; and of these we may liken the recipient (the matter) to the *Mother:* that after which it is made to the Father; and that produced between the two to the offspring." (Cf. also B. G., c. xiv. 3.)

[2] The grandsire as the source of *Prakṛiti*, from whom all things emanate.

[3] For the mystic syllable OM, see i. 1.

[4] The names of the three older Vedas, the Atharva-Veda being of later origin. The Sāman is sometimes put first, probably because it is a ritual of religious rites or offices, much used by the Brāhmans.

[5] The way to final deliverance from matter in *nirvāṇa*.

[6] As the observer of all things.

[7] The depository or treasure-house, for all things are contained in him.

[8] Mr. Thomson explains these words as spirit and matter. They mean the world of visible things (*sat*), and the invisible, undeveloped *Prakṛiti* (*asat*). See Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 27. Cf. Rig-Veda, x. 72, 2: "Devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sadajāyata"—in the first age of the gods the Manifested (*sat*) was born from the Unmanifested (*asat*)." In the same Veda (i. 96, 7), Agni is called *satas gopa*, the guardian of the existent world. The phraseology is much like Hegel's: (1) Das Absolute is das Seyn; (2) das Absolute ist das Nichts . . . Das reine Seyn ist nun die reine Abstraction, damit das absolut-negative, welches gleichfalls unmittelbar genommen, das Nichts ist" (Die Lehre v. Seyn, s. 99). The explanations of the Hindū commentators are here, as so often elsewhere, unsatisfactory. One supposes that *sat* means gross matter, and *asat* the subtler form from which it was developed; another explains them as "effects" and "causes."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

juice[1] and are purified from sin, who offer sacrifices, ask of me a passage to heaven. These attain to the holy world of Indra and eat in heaven the divine food of the gods.

These men, when they have enjoyed this vast heavenly world and their merit is exhausted, return to this world of death. Following the three holy books (the Vedas) and desiring the objects of the senses, they obtain that which comes and goes.

A full assurance (*e*) (of blessedness) I bring to those who worship Me and never seek refuge in another (god), who are ever united (to Me) in devotion.

Even those who worship other gods and are endowed with faith sacrifice to Me, O son of Kuntī! when they sacrifice, but not according to ancient rule;[2]

For I am the enjoyer and the Lord also of all sacrifices, but these men know Me not in truth, and therefore they fall.[3]

25 They who are devoted by vows to gods, go to gods;[4] they who devote themselves to Pitṛis (ancestral manes), go to Pitṛis; they who sacrifice to Bhūtas (malignant goblins), go to Bhūtas;[5] they who worship Me alone, come to Me.

When any one offers to me in devotion a leaf, a flower, fruit, or water, I accept this pious offering of one who is devout in mind.

[1] The juice of the *Asclepias acida*, much used in Hindū rites.

[2] Śankara says that the sacrifice is one of ignorance, not according to ancient knowledge.

[3] They fall from heaven and are born again on earth.

[4] To Indra and other gods. The Pitṛis are the manes of deceased ancestors, to whom a high place is given in Hindū rites. Cf. Manu (iii. 203): "An oblation offered by Brāhmans to ancestors surpasses the oblation of the gods."

[5] The Bhūtas are a foul kind of demons, supposed to dwell in graveyards.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest, whatever thou offerest in sacrifice or givest (to others), whatever austerity thou practisest, do it as an offering to Me.

Thus shalt thou be free from the bonds of works producing good or evil fortune; united to Me in soul by devotion and renunciation (of worldly good), thou, when freed (from the body), shalt come to Me.

I am the same to all beings; to Me none is hateful and none is dear; but they who worship Me devoutly are in Me and I also am in them.[1]

30 Even if one of evil life worships Me with exclusive worship, he must be accounted as a good man, for he has judged rightly.

Soon he becomes a pious man and attains to eternal peace. Be well assured, O son of Kuntī! that he who worships Me does not perish.

For they who find refuge in Me, O son of Pṛithā! though they have been conceived in sin,[2] women too, Vaiśyas, and even Śūdras, these go to the highest way.

How much more, then, holy Brāhmans and pious Rajarshis?[3]

[1] Śankara says the union is by possessing his nature (*swabhāva*). Śrīdhara, less correctly: "They are in Me by devotion (*bhaktyā*), and I in them by giving them blessing or salvation."

[2] Those who are born of unlawful connections. The Vaiśyas are the mercantile and agricultural caste. The Śūdras are the lowest caste, placed by Manu (xii. 43) in the same rank with lions, tigers, and boars. Even these, and women also, might attain to the state of Brahma, *i.e.*, might be absorbed into his being. This goes beyond the prevalent Hindū doctrine. Women alone cannot perform any religious rite (Manu v. 155), nor may they repeat the *mantras* (hymns) of the Vedas (ix. 18). They may, however, rise to heaven. I have not noticed in any other passage that they might attain to *nirvāṇa*. It is singular, as Mr. Thomson has pointed out, that the Vaiśyas should rank so low, and this must be regarded as a sign of the comparatively late date of the poem.

[3] The *Rajarshis* (royal Rishis) united the characters of king and saint.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Since thou hast come into this fleeting and unhappy world, worship Me.

Fix thy heart (*manas*) on Me; worship Me; offer to Me sacrifice; bow down before Me; united thus in soul (to Me), making Me the supreme object, thou shalt come to Me.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Ninth, whose title is

"DEVOTION THROUGH THE ROYAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE ROYAL MYSTERY."

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Yōgam aiśwaram.* "Mysterium meum augustum" (Lassen); "Tel est le mystère de la supreme union" (Burnouf). Dr. Lorinser's version is, "Meine Herrschvertiefung schau," and explains it to mean that Kṛishṇa here speaks of his union with existences, which befits him as their Lord (*īśwara*). *Yoga* seems here to mean the mysterious power which a perfect Yogin might exercise, and hence all power beyond ordinary human skill. K. T. Telang translates the passage by "See my power divine." Ananda explains *yoga* by "His proper form; a joyous and twofold nature." S'ankara interprets *yoga* by *yukti*, conjunction (a sovereign union of soul with matter?), showing the sovereign majesty of the Lord.

(*b*) *Prakṛitim swāmavastabhya.* "Naturæ meæ innixus" (Lassen); "Supported by my material essence" (Thomson); "Immuable dans ma puissance creatice" (Burnouf); "I plant myself on my own nature" (Wilkins). (Cf. c. xvi. 9. *Etām*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

drishṭim avastabhya. "In hac opinione defixi," Lassen.) Telang translates it, "By means of the power of Nature, taking its control myself." The meaning will be more correctly expressed by rendering the passage, "Supported by," or "enabled by means of" my material nature. This is the inferior part of Brahma's dual nature. The verb is found in the Harivañsa (8515). *Daṇḍamavastabhya,* leaning upon or supported by a staff. S'rīdhara explains the word by "commanding," "directing."

(*c*) *Mohinīm,* deluding, not deluded, as Mr. Thomson translates the word. "Naturam fraudulentam sectantes" (Lassen).

(*d*) *Bhakti,* adoration, is interpreted by the Hindū scholiasts, according to K. T. Telang, as "supreme love." S'rīdhara says they adore by praise and other means.

(*e*) *Yogakshema.* See *ante,* ii. 45.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE TENTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Hear further still, O large-armed one! my all-important works which I will speak to thee, who hast a delight therein (*a*), from a desire for thy good.

The hosts of Suras[1] know not any origin of Me, nor the great Rishis;[2] for I am the primal source of all the gods and the great Rishis.

He who knows Me, as unborn and without beginning, the mighty Lord of the world, he of mortals is undeluded, he is freed from all sin.

Mind, knowledge, absence of illusion, patience, truth, self-restraint, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and courage also;

5 Innocence, evenness of mind, contentment, religious austerity, beneficence, glory and shame, these are the qualities of beings severally appointed by Me.

The seven great Rishis, the four ancient (Fathers),[3] and

[1] Suras, a class of inferior gods, connected, it seems, with the sun (Surya). In the Mahābhārata they war against the Asuras, the gods of an aboriginal non-Aryan race.

[2] The Rishis were ancient sages. According to the Mahābhārata, i. 2518, "Six great Rishis are known as the mind-born sons of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu" (Sans. T. i. 122). In another book they are raised to seven by the addition of Vasishṭha (Śānti p. 7570). The Vaya Purāṇa makes the list eight in number by adding Brighu; the Vishṇu Purāṇa adds a ninth, Daksha.

[3] The four mind-born sons of Brahmā—Sanatkumāra, Sanaka, Sanātana, and Sanandana or Sananda.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the Manus,[1] partaking of my nature, were born from my mind: from them the races of mankind have sprung.

He who knows in truth that pre-eminence (*b*) and mystic power of mine is united (to Me) by unfailing devotion: of that there is no doubt.

I am the source of all things; the whole (universe) proceeds from Me: thinking thus, the wise who share my nature (*c*) worship Me.

Thinking on Me, having their life absorbed in Me (*d*), instructing each other and ever glorifying Me, they are contented and happy.

10 To these, constantly devout, who worship with the service of love, I give that mental devotion by which they come to Me.

In them I destroy from compassion, dwelling in their souls (*e*), the darkness which is born of ignorance, by the bright lamp of knowledge.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

Thou art the Supreme Brahma, the supreme abode,[2] the best purification, the Eternal Creator, Divine, First of Gods, Unborn, the Lord!

Thus all the Rishis proclaim thee, and also the divine Rishi, Nārada;[3] thus too Asita, Devala, and Vyāsa:[4] thus thou declarest thyself to me.

[1] The Manus are fourteen in number, each presiding during a period, called Manwantara (*manu-antara*), over the world. Each period contains 4,320,000 years.

[2] Because all things dwell in him.

[3] Nārada is a mythical person mentioned in Manu i. 35, as one of the ten progenitors of mankind who came forth from Brahmā.

[4] Asita is mentioned in the Lalita Vistara (a legendary life of Buddha) as a *Rishi* who dwelt near the Himalayan range, and was informed supernaturally of the birth of Buddha. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Devala is

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

I believe that all which thou sayest is true, O Keśava! for neither gods nor Dānavas[1] understand thy manifestation (*f*) (in bodily form), O Holy One!

15 Thou alone knowest thyself by thyself, O best of beings! Creator of all things, Lord of all, the God of gods, Ruler of the Universe!

It is meet for thee to declare fully thy divine perfections, by which these worlds are constantly pervaded by thee (*g*).

How shall I, by ever meditating, know thee, O Mystic One? In what forms of being mayst thou, O mighty Lord! be comprehended by me?

Declare to me again and fully thy mystic nature and thy perfections (*vibhūti*), O conqueror of men! for I am never sated in hearing thy immortal (ambrosial) words.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Well! I will declare to thee my divine perfections by means of the chief of them (only), O best of Kurus! for there is no end of my greatness.

20 I am the soul, O Guḍakeśu! seated in the heart of

said to have been one of the sons of Viśwamitra, who by his austerities and knowledge became one of the seven Rishis.

Vyāsa is a representative person, to whom is ascribed the composition or compilation of many works, including the Mahābhārata.

[1] The descendants of Dānu, fabled to be demons of the air, who made war upon the gods. In the Rig-Veda they are said to be seven in number. 'He cleaves by his force the seven Dānus" (x. 120, 6). Roth remarks in his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 150: "Seven is an indefinite number, applied to the demons of the air and clouds, who appear under the manifold names of Namuchi, Kuyava . . . the Dānus or Dānavas, to whom a mother called Dānu is assigned." Dānu was said to be the mother of Vṛitra (lit. cloud), and both were slain by Indra (R. V. i. 32, 9). In the Rāmāyaṇa (i. 14, 14) they are placed between gods and Yakshas, a class of malicious demons (S. T. iv. 166).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

every creature.[1] I am the beginning and the middle and the end of all things.

Among the Ādityas[2] I am Vishṇu; among luminous things the resplendent Sun. I am Marīchi[3] among the Maruts and the Moon among the constellations.[4]

I am the Sāma[5] (Veda) of the Vedas, I am Vāsava[6] of the gods. Of the senses I am the *manas*;[7] I am the intellect in living beings.

Of the Rudras I am Śankara,[8] and Vitteśa[9] of the Yakshas and Rākshasas. Of the Vasus[10] I am Pāvaka (fire); of the mountain-peaks I am Meru.[11]

[1] The heart, or the region of the chest, is supposed by the Hindūs to be the seat of the soul. There is here an approach to the Vedāntist doctrine that each soul is a part of the Universal Spirit. It is a separate individuality in both the Sānkyha and the Yoga systems.

[2] The Ādityas were at first six in number, and Varuna was their chief; but afterwards they were twelve, corresponding to the months of the year. They became personifications of the Sun in his various positions, and Vishṇu is here declared to be the chief.

[3] Marīchi, the chief of the Maruts or storm-gods. In Manu (i. 35) he is one of the ten progenitors of gods and men whom Virāj created through Manu.

[4] Nakshatras, the twenty-seven asterisms or lunar mansions traversed by the Moon.

[5] The Rig-Veda is the oldest of the Vedas. The Sama-Veda was especially honoured by some of the Brāhmans because its hymns were arranged for chanting in religious rites.

[6] Vāsava is a name of Indra.

[7] For an explanation of *manas* and *buddhi*, see p. 13.

[8] Śankara is a name of Śiva, called at an early period Rudra, who was the father of eleven Rudras, who represented probably violent destructive storms.

[9] Vitteśa, a name of Kuvera, the Hindū god of wealth, dwelling in the regions of darkness, corresponding to the Pluto of Western mythology. He is chief of the demons called Yakshas and Rākshasas, who guard his treasures.

[10] The Vasus, eight in number, were a class of inferior gods, the attendants of Indra in the older mythology. From their names, *Apa* (water), *Anila* (wind), *Soma* (moon), *Anala* (fire), &c., they are evidently nature-gods, personifications of natural objects.

[11] Meru, the fabulous mountain in the centre of the Jambu-dwipa, the central continent of the seven which form the world. "In the centre of all these continents is Jambu-dwipa. . . . In the centre of Jambu-dwipa is the golden moun-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Know, O son of Pṛithā! that I am Vṛihaspati,[1] the chief of household priests; of the chiefs in war I am Skanda,[2] and of waters I am the Ocean.

25 Of the great Ṛishis I am Bhṛigu,[3] and of words the syllable (OM). Of offerings I am the *japa*-offering,[4] of mountains the Himalaya (range).

Of all trees I am the sacred fig-tree (*aśwattha*[5]), and of divine Ṛishis Nārada.[6] Of the Gandharvas[7] I am Chitraratha; of the perfect ones the recluse (*muni*) Kapila.[8]

Know that I am of horses Uchchaiḥśravas,[9] born of the *amrita* (water of immortality); of elephants, Airāvata,[10] and among men I am the king.

Of weapons of war I am the thunderbolt, and of cows the Kāmaduk.[11] I am the progenitor Kandarpa,[12] and of serpents I am Vāsuki.[13]

tain Meru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā" (Vish. P., Wilson, ii. 110, 118). The yojana varied from four to eight krośas, the krośa being about two geographical miles.

[1] The priest of the family of gods, and hence the prototype of the priestly order. The planet Jupiter is so called, and he is the lord or regent of it.

[2] The Hindū god of war, and also the planet Mars.

[3] Mentioned by Manu (i. 35) as one of the great Ṛishis (*maharshis*), who were the progenitors of mankind.

[4] Repeating or muttering prayers and sacred hymns to one's self.

[5] The *Ficus religiosa*, or sacred fig-tree of India.

[6] The *devarshis* (divine Ṛishis) were a class of Ṛishis who became demigods.

[7] The musicians of the gods, dwelling in Indra's heaven. Chitraratha is their chief.

[8] Kapila, the author of the Sānkyha system of philosophy.

[9] The name of the horse which was created when the gods churned the ocean to procure the *amṛita*, the water of immortality. He became the horse of Indra.

[10] The elephant on which Indra rides.

[11] The cow, produced at the churning of the ocean, which grants all desires. Probably an ancient type of the earth.

[12] A name of Kāma, the Hindū Cupid, lord of the Apsarasas or heavenly nymphs; represented as a beautiful youth bearing a bow, and armed with five arrows which strike the five senses.

[13] Vāsuki, the king of the *nāgas* or serpents in Pātāla (Hell). He was

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Of the snakes I am Ananta,[1] and among beings of the waters, Varuṇa.[2] Of the Pitris (ancestral manes) I am Aryama,[3] and of judges I am Yama.[4]

Of the Daityas[5] I am Prahlāda, and of things that measure (*h*) I am Time. Of wild beasts I am the Tiger,[6] and Vainateya[7] of birds.

Of purifiers I am the wind, and of those who bear weapons Rāma.[8] Of fishes I am the Makara,[9] and of rivers I am the Ganges.

Of emanations (creations) (*i*) I am the beginning and the end, and I am also the middle, Arjuna! Of the kinds of knowledge I am the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit (Adhyātman); of those who speak I am the Speech.

I am the letter A among letters, the *dwandwa*[10] in

coiled round the mountain Mandara by the gods and Asuras at the churning of the ocean.

[1] Ananta, the thousand-headed snake on which Vishṇu rests. He is mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa as the king of the mythological snakes who have the face of a man.

[2] Varuṇa was at an early period one of the chief gods of the Hindū Pantheon; a personification of the sky as all-embracing, the maker of heaven and earth. At a later period he ranked only as chief of the Ādityas, and now is considered as lord of the waters. His sign is a fish.

[3] The chief of the ancient fathers (*pitris*), whose heaven is next below Brahmā's.

[4] Yama, the judge of the dead, the Hindū Minos.

[5] The Daityas are represented as a demoniac and impious race, probably the aborigines of Northern India, opposed to the Aryans and their gods. Prahlāda was a king among them, and from his pious austerities he attained to much repute. He is said to have become a worshipper of Vishṇu.

[6] The Indra (king) of the beasts of chase; referred to both the lion and the tiger.

[7] Vainateya is the sacred bird on which Vishṇu rides. In the Rāmāyaṇa he is called a god. "The snake-devouring god, the strong *Vainateya*, he will deliver you from the dreadful bonds of the serpents" (Sans. T. iv. 453).

[8] Rāma, the hero of the epic poem the Rāmāyaṇa, supposed to be the seventh *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishṇu.

[9] A marine monster on which Varuṇa rides. At present the Hindū name for the shark.

[10] The aggregative form of San-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

compound words (*j*); I am also Eternal Time; I am the Sustainer whose presence is on every side.

I am Death that seizes all, and the Source of all that are to come. Of feminine words I am Fame, Fortune, and Speech, Memory, Intelligence, Constancy, and Patience.

35 Among the songs of the Sama-Veda I am the Vrihat-sāman,[1] and the Gāyatrī[2] among metrical forms. Of months I am the Margaśirsha,[3] and of seasons the flowery Spring.

I am the Dice-play of the fraudulent and the Splendour of the splendid. I am Victory, I am Enterprise (*k*), I am the Goodness of the good.

Of the sons of Vṛishni I am Vāsudeva,[4] of the Pāṇḍavas the Subduer of wealth (Arjuna). Of the *munis* I am Vyāsa,[5] and of sages Uśana[6] the wise.

Of things that subdue I am the Rod, and the Polity of those who seek to conquer. Of secret things I am Silence,[7] and the Knowledge of those who know.

skrit compounds. Such a compound as sea-shore is = shore of the sea; as a *dwandwa* compound = the sea and the shore. The *dwandwa* is selected, says Śrīdhara, because all the parts are co-ordinate with each other.

[1] A part of the Sama-Veda supposed to have a peculiar sanctity.

[2] Gāyatrī, a kind of metre, consisting of three divisions of eight syllables each. It has the place of honour because the holiest of all the verses of the Vedas (R. V. iii. 62, 10), daily repeated by the Brāhmans, is written in this metre.

[3] Part of November and December; called also *Agrahāyana* (summit of the year).

[4] Vāsudeva, a name of Kṛishṇa, from that of his father, Vasudeva, one of the sons of Sura, a chief of an Aryan tribe called Yādhavas, and father to Kṛishṇa in his human form.

[5] See *supra*, l. 26.

[6] Uśana is described as a teacher of the Asuras or demons, who were the aboriginal races of India. In the Bhāg. Purāṇa he is called "chief of the wise," and is said to be the tutor of Bali, a king of the Asuras (Muir iv. 143).

[7] Meaning either that silence is one of the most mysterious things, or (as seems preferable) that it denotes what cannot be expressed in words, but must be meditated on in silence, as the Supreme Brahmā.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

And whatever is of living things the seed, I am That, Arjuna! There is nothing, whether moving or fixed, that can exist without Me.

40 There is no end of my divine perfections, O slayer of foes! but this recital of my glory has been uttered by Me by way of instances thereof.

Whatever thing is pre-eminent, glorious, or strong, know that all is the issue of a part of my power.

But what hast thou to do with this vast extent of knowledge, Arjuna? I have established in continuance all this universe by one part of myself.[1]

[1] This is the conclusion of the whole matter. The Supreme is not these things, but he is the animating Soul which gives to each its power or excellence. "It is not," says Rajendra-lala, "the absorption of the Infinite in the Finite, of God in Nature, but of the Finite in the Infinite, of Nature in God" (Introd. Chhānd. Upanishad).

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Tenth, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY THE DIVINE PERFECTIONS."

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Prīyamāṇāya.* "Tibi amanti" (Lassen); "whom I love" (Thomson). The word is translated "freundlich" in the Peters. Dict. Cf. *vāchā prīyamāṇayā*, by a friendly discourse (Rāmāyaṇa iii. 20, 2). Ananda glosses the word by *prītikurvat*, causing joy or affection.

(*b*) *Vibhūti*, excellence, pre-eminence; here used for the manifestation of the divine nature in some form of power or grandeur. Śrīdhara's gloss is *aiśwaryalakshanam*, sign of sovereignty. Telang has "emanations," but incorrectly.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*c*) *Bhāvasamanwitās.* "Contemplandi facultate præditi" (Lassen); "Participants de l'essence suprême" (Burnouf). Dr. Lorinser, following the Peters. Dict., translates it by "Die mir Liebe weihen," and this rendering Telang adopts. In the absence of any conclusive example of such an usage, I prefer Burnouf's version. Śrīdhara's explanation is *prītiyuktāh*, joined or devoted by love. Ananda says, "They whose nature is wholly Brahma." Śankara has, "United together (*samyuktā*) by inclination to the truth that relates to the Supreme."

(*d*) *Madgataprānā.* "Me quasi spirantes" (Lassen); "Dead in me" (Thomson); "Offering their lives to me" (Telang). *Gata*, with a noun, often expresses the absence or destruction of what is denoted by the noun, but sometimes it is used in the sense of "devoted to," as in the episode of Nala, *mām gatasankalpā*, "with resolves or purposes fixed on me." Śankara says, "Whose acts or whose life is absorbed in me," *i.e.*, by *yoga.*

(*e*) *Ātmabhāvasṭho.* "Sans sortir de mon unité" (Burnouf). Lassen's version is similar: "In mea ipsius conditione permanens," which Thomson, as usual, follows. The passage is translated by Galanos, "Being seated in their hearts," with which Telang agrees. Śrīdhara's gloss is, "Being placed in the office or function (*vritti*) of the intellect." Śankara says, "Resting in the inner sense (*antaḥkaraṇa*) of the being of the soul."

(*f*) *Vyaktim*, manifestation, act of becoming visible; here, as Telang translates it, "incarnation."

(*g*) *Vyāpya tishṭhasi.* "Permeans consistis" (Lassen). The verb *sthā* (to stand), when joined to an indefinite participle, has generally, as Mr. Thomson has stated, the meaning of persistency or continuance. Cf. *yā sthitā vyāpya viśwam*, that which perpetually pervades all space (ether) (Sakuntala, i. 2).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*h*) *Kalayatām.* "Of those things that make account or reckoning" (S'ankara). The verb means to number, count, regard, measure. Lassen's version is, "numeros modulantium."

(*i*) *Sargānām*, of emanations. "Naturarum" (Lassen) "Dans les choses créées" (Burnouf). Every creation is an emanation in Hindū systems of cosmogony. S'ankara says that the term *bhūtānām* (v. 20) applies only to animate beings, but *sargānām* to everything.

(*j*) *Dwandwah sāmāsikasya*, the *dwandwa* form of compound words. "Copulatio inter verba composita" (Lassen), as if it implied only the union of words; but no doubt the Hindū scholiasts are right in regarding it as the particular kind of composite words called *dwandwa*.

(*k*) *Vyavasāya.* "Perseverantia" (Lassen); "conseil" (Burnouf); "industry" (Telang). It means effort and plan or design; hence we may translate it, "Action directed by thought or purpose." S'rīdhara explains it as the action of those who toil or make effort.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE ELEVENTH.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

This discourse of the supreme mystery, called Adhyātman, which thou hast uttered for my welfare, has taken away my delusion.

For I have heard from thee at large of the birth and death of beings, O lotus-eyed![1] and of thy eternal greatness (*a*).

Even so as thou hast declared thyself to be, O supreme Lord! I desire to see thy sovereign form, O greatest of beings!

If thou judgest that I am able to behold it, O Ruler! show to me thy eternal self, O Lord of devotion!

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

5 See then, O son of Pṛithā! my forms, by hundreds and by thousands, various, celestial, diverse in colour and shape.

See the Ādityas,[2] Vasus, Rudras, the two Aświns,[3] and the Maruts[4] also. See, O son of Bharata! many marvels never seen before.

See here the whole universe, whether animate or inani-

[1] Long and oval eyes are considered to be an element of beauty. Yudishṭhira, the Hindū ideal of manly beauty, is called the "lotus-eyed."

[2] The Ādityas are twelve Solar deities, or personifications of the Sun for the twelve months of the year. For Vasus and Rudras, see p. 113.

[3] The twin Aświns (Aświnau) are the sons of the Sky or Sun; probably at first personifications of the morning and evening twilight.

[4] The Maruts are the "storm gods," the brothers of Indra; sometimes said to be created by him.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

mate, fixed in One in my person (body), O Gudakeśā! and whatever else thou desirest to see.

But thou art not able to look on Me with this eye of thine. I give thee an eye divine. See my sovereign mystic nature!

SANJAYA *spoke.*

Then having spoken thus, O King! Hari,[1] the mighty Lord of devotion (*yoga*), revealed to the son of Pṛithā his supreme and royal form.

Having many mouths and eyes, presenting many wondrous aspects, decked with many celestial ornaments, and bearing many celestial weapons:

Wearing celestial garlands and vestments, anointed with celestial perfumes; that all-wonderful (form), resplendent, boundless, whose face is turned on every side.

If the light of a thousand suns were to burst forth at once in the sky, that would be like the splendour of that mighty One.

There the son of Pāṇḍu beheld the whole universe seated in One, and divided into many parts in the body of the God of gods.

Then the conqueror of wealth, filled with amazement, with his hair standing on end, bowing down his head with uplifted hands thus addressed the god.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

God! in thy body I see all the gods,
And all the varied hosts of living things,

[1] A name of Vishṇu. "Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being, Hari, assuming the form of Brahmā, with four faces, effected the creation" (Vish. Pur. i. 4). He had been previously addressed as Vishṇu (Sans. T. i. 51).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

And sovereign Brahmā on his lotus-throne,[1]
And all the Rishis and the snakes[2] divine.
I see thee with unnumbered arms and breasts
And eyes and faces, infinite in form.
I see not either source or mean or end
Of thee, the universal Form and Lord,
Bearing thy diadem,[3] thy club and disc.
I see thee glowing as a mass of light
In every region, hard to look upon,
Bright as the blaze of burning fire and sun,
On every side, and vast beyond all bound.
The Undivided thou, the highest point
Of human thought, and seat (*b*) supreme of all.[4]
Eternal law's undying Guardian thou;
The everlasting Cause (*c*) thou seem'st to me.
I see not thy beginning, mean, or end;
Thy strength, thy arms are infinite alike,
And unto thee the sun and moon are eyes.
I see thy face that glows as sacred fire,
And with its radiance heats the universe;
For all the heavenly regions and the space
'Twixt earth and heaven are filled by Thee alone.
When thy mysterious awful form is seen,
The triple worlds[5] then tremble, Soul supreme!
These hosts of Suras[6] come to thee, O God!

[1] Brahmā is said to have sprung from a lotus which expanded from the navel of Īśwara (the supreme Lord), *i.e.*, of Vishṇu, according to the Vaishṇavas. Hence he is called *Kanja-ja* (lotus-born). See Moor's Hindū Pantheon, p. 7.

[2] See p. 115.

[3] These are the insignia of Krishṇa. The discus is a weapon like a quoit, formerly used in war. Vishṇu bears a club, a discus, a conch-shell, and a lotus.

[4] See p. 105.

[5] Heaven, earth, and hell.

[6] Gods of an inferior class. In the later mythology, Indra was their chief. "He and the other Suras

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Some mutter in their fear and lift their hands.
Great Rishis, Siddhas,[1] all cry "Hail to thee!"
And thee they celebrate with songs sublime (*d*).
Adityas, Rudras, Vasus, Sādhyas[2] too,
The Viśwas, Aświns, Maruts, Ushmapas,[3]
Gandharvas, Yakshas, Siddhas, Asuras,
In crowds behold thee, and are all amazed.
Thy mighty form, with many mouths and eyes,
Arms, thighs, and feet, and loins, and fearful tusks,
The worlds behold with fear, and I with them.

were for ever engaged in hostilities with their half-brothers, the demons called Asuras or Daityas, the giants or Titans of Hindū mythology, who were the children of Kaśyapa by Diti, as the Suras were by Aditi" (Sakuntalā, Mon. Williams, n., p. 86). Śrīdhara says they enter the Supreme as a refuge; but this is not indicated by the text, for they adore as other deities.

[1] Deified mortals learned in the Vedas, said to be 88,000 in number and to occupy that part of the heavens which lies between Nāgavithī (Aries and Taurus) and Saptarshi (Ursa Major). They are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (i. 14). "The gods, with the Gandharvas, *Siddhas*, and Munis, had previously come thither to receive their portions (of the sacrifice). Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthānu (Mahādeva), the lord Narāyana (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts" (Sans. T. iv. 16).

[2] The Sādhyas were an order of inferior gods mentioned in the Rig-Veda, x. 90, 16: "They (the gods) come with great pomp to the sky, where are the ancient Sādhyās, gods." Sāyana calls them *karma-devās*, work-gods, and "performers of sacrifices," &c., explained by Prof. Wilson to mean divinities presiding over or giving effect to religious acts. Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. (31, 17) gives a different explanation. He says that there are two kinds of gods: *karma-devās*, who have attained to this state by their works, and *ājāna-devās*, gods by birth, who were created by Brahmā. See Mr. Muir, On the Interp. of the Veda, R.A.S., 1866, p. 394. In the Institutes of Manu (iii. 195) they are said to be the descendants of the Sōmasads, who sprang from Virāj. They are classed between the Viśwadevas and the Rishis (xi. 29). In the Harivanśa they are spoken of as worshippers of the gods. "For the completion of sacrifice, he (Brahmā) formed the Ṛich, Yajush, and Sāman verses; with these the Sādhyas worshipped the gods, as we have heard." In the Purāṇas they are the sons of Dharma and Sādhyā, daughter of Daksha.

[3] A class of Manes, or the spirits of ancient fathers (*Pitṛis*).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

I see thee touch the skies, and brightly shine
With varied hues. I see thy open mouth,
Thy vast and glittering eyes; and now my soul,
My inmost soul is troubled, and I lose
My courage, Vishṇu! and my peace of mind.
When I behold thy teeth outspread, and mouths
Resembling (in their flames) Time's final fire,[1]
I know not aught around and have no joy.
Have mercy, Lord of gods! the world's great Seat!
The sons of Dṛitarashtra and the host
Of earth's great rulers, Bhīshma, Drona too,
And Karna,[2] with the flower of all our host,
Enter in haste thy fearful large-toothed mouths,
And some are seen to rest, with heads all crushed,
Within the gaps that lie between thy teeth.[3]
As many streams in rapid torrents flow
Direct to ocean, so these chiefs of men
Enter in haste within thy flaming mouths.
As moths towards a lighted taper rush,
With still-increasing speed, to perish there,
So come these multitudes within thy mouths,
With still-increasing speed, to perish there.
Devouring all mankind from every side,
Thou lappest them with thy flame-bearing lips.
Thou fillest all the universe with light,
And fiercely, Vishṇu! burn thy fiery rays.

[1] The world, at the end of a *kalpa*, is destroyed by fire which the serpent Ananta casts from his mouth.

[2] Lit. the son of a *Sūta* (charioteer). Karna is meant, a king of the Anga country (Bengal). He was fabled to be a son of Pṛithā by Sūrya, the Sun, before her marriage with Pāṇḍu. His foster-father was Nandana, the *Sūta* of Dhṛitarāshṭra; hence he was assumed to be the son of a *Sūta*.

[3] This is spoken in anticipation of their approaching death in battle.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Then tell me who thou art, with form so dire.
To thee I bow. Be gracious, God supreme!
I ask to know thy primal life, for this,
Thy form evolved (*e*), I cannot understand.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Lo! I am old and world-destroying Time (*f*),
Here manifest to slay the race of men.
Of all these warriors, formed in hostile ranks,
Except thyself, there shall not one survive.
Wherefore, arise! gain glory for thyself.
Subdue thy foes and gain an ample sway!
My arm already hath destroyed them all.
Be but my instrument, left-handed one!
Strike thou at Bhīshma, Droṇa, Karṇa too,
At Jayadratha,[1] and the warriors all,
For they are slain by Me. Be not dismayed.
Fight! thou shalt conquer in the field thy foes.

SANJAYA *spoke.*

35 Having heard these words of Keśava,[2] he who bears a tiara,[3] lifting up his hands, making salutations and trembling, again spoke thus to Kṛishṇa, bowing down and stammering, overwhelmed with fear.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

The world, O Kṛishṇa! justly hath delight
In thy great glory and obeys thy law.

[1] King of the Sindhavas, who dwelt in the country of the Indus. He was finally killed by Arjuna in a desperate conflict, after the fall of Bhīshma.

[2] The hairy one, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa.

[3] Arjuna.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

The Rākshas flee on every side through fear,
And troops of Siddhas all bow down to thee.
Why should they not adore thee, Soul supreme?
More reverend e'en than Brahmā,[1] primal Cause,
O infinite Lord of Gods! the world's abode,[2]
Thou undivided art, and life in forms
And formless life thou art (*g*), o'er all supreme.
Thou art the First of gods, the ancient Sire,
The treasure-house supreme of all the worlds,
The Knowing and the Known, the highest seat.
From thee the All has sprung, O boundless Form!
Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Yama thou,[3]
The Moon; the Sire (*h*), and Grandsire too of men.
All hail to thee, a thousand times all hail!
Again and yet again, all hail to thee!
All hail to thee before, all hail behind;
All hail on every side, O mighty All!
The Infinite in power, of boundless force,
The All thou dost embrace; then thou art All.
If thinking thee my friend, I cried aloud,
O Yādava![4] O Kṛishṇa! or O Friend!
Not knowing this thy wondrous majesty,
From carelessness, or even in my love;
If I dishonoured thee at times in mirth,
When sporting, lying, sitting, or at meals,
Alone, O Holy One! or with an host,
I pray thee pardon it, Eṭernal Lord!
Father of all this fixed and moving world,

[1] Brahmā proceeded from the Supreme Bramhă, whom Kṛishṇa represents.

[2] Because all things dwell in him.

[3] The gods of ocean, air, and fire, and the judge of the lower regions respectively.

[4] So called because in his human nature he belonged to the tribe of Yadu.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Of weightier honour than the Guru (*i*) bears,[1]
None is thine equal. Who in all the worlds
Surpasses thee, O thou of boundless power?
Wherefore, saluting thee and bending low,
I ask thy grace, O Lord, whose praise is meet.
Be gracious then, O God! as sire to son,
As friend to friend, as lover to the loved.
This marvel having seen, ne'er seen before,
My heart rejoices, yet is moved by fear.
Show me that other form alone, O God!
Be gracious, Lord of gods! the world's great seat!
I would behold thee, as of old, arrayed
With diadem and club, and disk in hand.
Take to thyself again thy four-armed form,
Thou of the thousand arms and endless forms!

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

By favour, through my mystic form divine (*j*),
Arjuna! thou my form supreme hast seen,
Resplendent, universal, infinite,
Primeval, seen before by none but thee.
Yet not by Vedas, nor by sacrifice,
By study,[2] alms, good works, or rites austere,
Can this my form be seen by mortal man,
O Prince of Kurus! but by thee alone.

[1] A spiritual teacher, extravagantly honoured. "By reverencing his mother, one gains this world; by reverencing his father, the intermediate world; and by constant attention to his *guru*, the world of Brahmā" (Manu ii. 233). The world of Brahmā is the highest heaven.

[2] Śankara and Śrīdhara connect *adhyayana* (reading or study) with the words Veda and sacrifice, explaining the passage as if the study of these things was here meant, and also not a right study of them. [My copy of Śrīdhara's Commentary has *atirekena;* Telang has *vyatirekena*]

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Be not afraid or in thy mind distressed
From having seen this awful form of mine,
But, freed from fear and with a joyful heart,
See now that other form of mine again.

SANJAYA *spoke.*

50 Vāsudeva, having thus addressed Arjuna, caused his proper form to appear again, and the great Spirit, becoming once more of a gentle form, consoled him that had been affrighted.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

Having seen this thy gentle human form, O destroyer of foes! I have now become composed in mind and have returned to (my proper) nature.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

This form of me that thou hast seen is one hard to see. Even the gods constantly desire to see this form.

Not by Vedas, nor by austerities, nor by gifts, nor by sacrifice, can I be seen as thou hast seen me now.

But by exclusive worship may I thus be known and seen in truth and be obtained (entered), O slayer of foes!

55 He who does everything for Me, whose supreme object I am, who worships Me, being free from attachment and without hatred to any creature, this man, Arjuna! comes to Me.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Eleventh, whose title is

"THE MANIFESTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL FORM."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Māhātmyam.* "Magnanimitas" (Lassen and Burnouf); "greatness" (Thomson); "majestät" (Lorinser). The reference is certainly to the instances of greatness or excellence in the preceding chapter.

(*b*) *Nidhāna*, treasure or treasury. S'ankara explains it by *paramāsraya*, chief asylum or receptacle.

(*c*) *Purusha*, literally the Male, as the divine generator of all.

(*d*) *Pushkalābhiḥ.* "Hymnis perpulcris" (Lassen). S'ankara explains the word as meaning complete, full (*sampūrṇa*). The word means complete, but also great, excellent, distinguished. Burnouf has "dans de sublimes cantiques."

(*e*) *Pravṛittim*, lit. going forth, either in action or being. Lassen's translation is "Haud presagio equidem quidnam pares." Telang's, "Thy deeds I understand not." S'rīdhara and S'ankara interpret it by *ceshtā*, movement, action. I think it means here the developed being by which the god was made manifest.

(*f*) *Kāla*, time, and sometimes death. Lassen and Burnouf accept the former, and Thomson the latter meaning. In the Atharva-Veda, *Kāla* is accounted a god, and hymns are addressed to it. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa (v. 6), Time is a portion of Hari (Vishṇu). "Afterwards that which is described as the part of Hari, which has the nature of Time, infused into those beings direful sin" (Sans. T. i. 62). Ananda seems to accept the meaning, "death," for he says that the meaning is, "I am *Kāla*, because I destroy the lives of all." S'rīdhara has a similar explanation.

(*g*) *Sadasat tat param yat.* "Enti et non-enti quod subest"

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(Lassen); "The existing and non-existing, that which is supreme" (Thomson). Telang has

"That which is,
That which is not, and that which lies beyond."

By *sat* is meant formal existence; by *asat*, unformed primal existence. See Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 135. Śrīdhara says that *sat* is the Manifested (Developed) life; *asat*, the Unmanifested (*Prakṛiti*).

(*h*) *Prajāpati.* "Animantium sator" (Lassen). The word is often used to denote Brahmā as Creator. "This universe was formerly water. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved. . . . He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas" (Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5; Sans. T. i. 52). *Cf.* Gen. i. 2. Ananda explains it by "the great father of all the world."

(*i*) *Gurōrgurīyān.* The Calcutta ed., the text of Madhusūdana, and (I may add) three MSS. in my possession, read *gurur.* The translation will then be, "Thou art the venerable and very weighty Guru (religious teacher) of this (world)." Mr. Thomson would connect *asya* with *guros*, and translate, "than that Guru himself," meaning Brahmā; but the comp. form requires an ablative after it; *asmāt*, not *asya.* In my copy of Śrīdhara's Commentary the reading is *guror*, but in the text *gurur.* The explanation is *gurutara*, more venerable. He adds, "Thus there is no other in the three worlds who is equal to thee in greatness." In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the *guru* is said to be the same as deity. (See Rel. Sects of the Hindūs, p. 63.)

(*j*) *Ātmayogāt*, by my mystic virtue. See c. vii. 25, *supra.* Dr. Lorinser would retain the meaning "union," referring to Kṛishṇa's union with men by his incarnation.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE TWELFTH.

ARJUNA *spoke.*

Of those who, ever devoutly worshipping, do thee service,[1] and those who serve the Imperishable and the Umanifested, which of these (classes) is best acquainted with Yoga?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

They who have stayed their hearts on Me, and do Me service with a constant devotion, being endowed with perfect faith, these I deem to be the most devout (*yukta-tamās*).

But they who serve the Imperishable, Unseen, Unmanifested One, All-pervading and Incomprehensible, who dwelleth on high (*a*), the Immutable and Eternal;

Who, subduing all the senses, are equal-minded to all around and rejoice in the good of all, these attain to Me.

The trouble of those whose minds are fixed on the Unmanifested is the greater, because the unseen path[2] is hard to be gained by those who are embodied (*b*);

[1] Those who worship Brahmā, manifested in some material form, as Krishṇa, or those who worship him in his higher spiritual nature. In the first form he is *vyakta*, manifested; in the other, *avyakta*, unmanifested. The spiritual worship is the higher, but it is too difficult for the mass of mankind. Śrīdhara glosses the word "Imperishable" by Brahma.

[2] The way to the Invisible or Unmanifested Brahma. Telang translates *gati* (way) by "goal." It sometimes means place or seat. Śrīdhara's gloss is *nishṭha*, place or condition.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

But they who renounce all works in Me, whose chief object I am, who, meditating on Me, serve with an exclusive devotion;

These I raise from the ocean of this mortal world without delay, O son of Pṛithā! their minds being stayed on Me.

Fix thy heart (*manas*) on Me alone; let thy mind (*buddhi*) be stayed on Me; then hereafter thou shalt dwell in Me on high: of that there is no doubt.

But if thou art not able to fix thy thoughts constantly on Me, then by frequent devotion seek to gain Me, O subduer of wealth!

If thou art not equal to frequency (of devotion), be thou intent on doing works for Me (*c*); if thou doest works for Me alone, thou shalt attain the perfect state.

If this also thou art not able to do, then, having found refuge with Me in devotion, renounce thus the fruit of works with soul subdued;

For knowledge is better than diligence, meditation is better than knowledge, and renouncing of the fruit of works than meditation; to renunciation peace is very nigh (*d*).

He who hates no single being, is friendly and compassionate, free from self-regard and vanity, the same in good and evil, patient;

Contented, ever devout, subdued in soul, firm in purpose, fixed on Me in heart and mind, and who worships Me, is dear to Me.

He whom the world troubles not, and who troubles not the world, who is free from the emotions of joy, wrath, and fear, is dear to Me.

The man who has no selfish bias (*e*), is pure, upright, unconcerned, free from distress of mind, who renounces every enterprise (*f*) and worships Me, is dear to Me.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

He who has neither delight nor aversion, who neither mourns nor desires, who renounces good and evil fortune, and worships Me, is dear to Me.

He who is the same to friend and foe, and also in honour and dishonour, who is the same in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is wholly free from attachment;

To whom praise and blame are equal, who is silent, content with every fortune, home-renouncing,[1] steadfast in mind, and worships Me, that man is dear to Me.

20 But they who sit at (the banquet of) that sacred nectar (*g*), which has been described before, endowed with faith, making Me their highest aim and worshipping (Me), these are the most dear to Me.[2]

[1] Abandoning home to devote himself to the life of a recluse. This is enjoined in Manu, especially in old age. "Departing from his house . . . keeping silence, not regarding the objects of desire that are brought into contact with him, let the muni live as an ascetic" (vi. 41). Minute directions are given for his future conduct (43–82).

[2] The *amṛita* or nectar of the gods is mentioned by Arjuna (c. x. 18). Mr. Thomson thinks there is a reference to a knowledge of Brahma in his various manifestations. The reference seems to be rather to those more spiritual worshippers who were intent, by meditation, upon the Supreme as a pure spirit. See dist. 2–5 in this chapter.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Twelfth, whose title is

"THE DEVOTION OF WORSHIP."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Kūṭastham*, raised on high, sublime; see p. 83 *supra*. Śrīdhara says that by *kūṭa* is meant his development in the illusive material world (*māyā*).

(*b*) *Dehavadbhis*, by those who possess bodies. The body, in Hindū opinion, is never a help to the soul, except as a means of deliverance from matter.

(*c*) *Matkarmaparamo bhava*. "Mihi gratis operibus intentus esto" (Lassen); "Be intent on the performance of actions for me" (Thomson). The reference is not to the kind of work, but the purpose or intention with which it is done. Śrīdhara's gloss is, "Works done from love to Me." Śankara says, "For my sake."

(*d*) *Tyāgāch chhāntir anantaram*. "A renuntiatione tranquillitas proxime distat" (Lassen). *Śānti* seems to mean here, as Mr. Thomson suggests, final repose in *nirvāṇa*. Burnouf translates it by "beatitude." Śrīdhara's gloss is, "By my favour there is immediately a rest from, or cessation of, worldly or earthly existence" (*sansārāśānti*), implying a cessation of birth by *nirvāṇa*.

(*e*) *Anapeksha*, lit. "he who looks not about." "Nulla expectatione suspensus" (Lassen); "He who has no worldly expectations" (Thomson); "L'homme sans arrière pensée" (Burnouf). It is the man who has no other than a true, direct purpose. "Unworldly" seems the nearest English equivalent. Ananda says it means "free from all desire," and Śrīdhara has the same explanation. Telang translates it "unconcerned." The corresponding Pali word, *anapekhī*, has this meaning. Śankara says "one who has no regard for objects of sense."

(*f*) *Sarvarāmbhaparityagī*. "Omnibus inceptis qui renuntiavit" (Lassen). This is hardly definite enough. *Ārambha*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

means effort, enterprise; and the character here denoted is the man who rejects all enterprise, because it is opposed to that absolute repose which is the Hindū ideal of excellence. Mr. Thomson has mistaken the meaning of the passage. He translates the word by "free from any interest in his undertakings." It is the undertakings themselves that he renounces. Śrīdhara's gloss is "to renounce active labour" (*udyama*). Telang's translation is "who doth renounce all acts for fruit;" but there is no limit in the text.

(*g*) *Dharmyāmṛitam. Amṛita*, the immortal, corresponds to the ambrosia of the Greeks. In the later Hindū mythology it denoted chiefly the water of immortality which the gods gained by the churning of the ocean; but it was used to express things offered in sacrifice, chiefly the soma. Here it is used to denote the blessedness of a mental union with Brahma, by which at length *nirvāṇa* is gained.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE THIRTEENTH.[1]

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

These (*a*) bodies, O son of Kuntī! are called *kshetra* (matter) (*b*). That which knows it is called by the wise *kshetṛajna* (matter-knowing = Soul).

Know that I am the soul (*kshetrajna*) in all forms of matter, O son of Bharata! This knowledge of soul and matter I deem to be knowledge (indeed).

What this matter is, what its qualities, what are its changes and whence it comes, and what that is (soul) and what its greatness (*c*), hear now briefly from Me.

All this has been sung separately,[2] in many ways by Rishis, in various songs (*d*), and in well-thought-out verses of Brahma-sutras (*e*), that treat of the causes (of things).

5 The gross elements, egoism, intellect, and also the unmanifested (Prakṛiti or Nature), the ten senses, the one (organ, the *manas*), and the five objects (or domains) of sense;

Desire, hatred, pleasure, pain, collective form (organised body), thought, resolve,[3] these are briefly described as matter in its modified forms.

[1] Here the third part of the poem begins, treating, in part, of the physical theory of the Sānkhya system. This part of Kapila's teaching has largely affected the whole course of Hindū thought or speculation on physical matters, even in schools widely differing from his on other subjects.

[2] The Hindū commentators explain this word (*pṛitak*) as "variously," referring it to Brahma in his various forms as Vishṇu, &c.

[3] Because they belong to the *buddhi* and *manas* of man's compound nature, and these are only subtle forms of matter.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Modesty, sincerity, innocence, patience, uprightness, service done to a preceptor, purity, constancy, self-control;

Absence of desire for things of sense and of vanity, perception of the evil of birth, death, old age, sickness, and pain;

Freedom from attachment, absence of affection for son, wife, home, and the rest, and constant equanimity in desired and undesired events;

10 With constant worship of Me in exclusive devotion, frequenting of lonely places and distaste for the society of men;

Perseverance in (seeking to gain) the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit (Adhyātman),[1] and perception of the gain that comes from knowledge of the truth: this is called knowledge: all that is contrary to this is ignorance.

I will declare that which must be known, by the knowledge of which immortality is gained; the Supreme Brahma, without beginning, who is called neither *sat* nor *asat*;[2]

Whose hands and feet are everywhere, everywhere his eyes and heads and faces; hearing everywhere, he dwells in the world encompassing all things.

Resplendent in the faculties of all the senses, yet devoid

[1] See c. viii. 1, *supra*.

[2] Neither *sat*, thing, reality, but here formal being, in opposition to *asat*, unformed, primal matter. Śankara, quoted by Telang, gives another explanation. He says that these words indicate a class, a quality, an action, or a relation, but as none of these is possible in the case of Brahma, neither word can be applied to him. Śrīdhara explains *sat* by *vishaya*, object of sense, *asat* being that which is not perceived by the senses. The earlier philosophic meanings of *sat* and *asat* were lost in course of time, but the true sense was manifest to some who were comparatively modern commentators. Rāghavendra says that *sat* means the Vyakta (Manifested) produced as an effect, and *asat* is the Avyakta (Unmanifested), which is the cause of it, *i.e.*, Prakṛiti (Telang).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ® LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

of all the senses;[1] unattached (*f*) and yet sustaining all things; without the modes (of Nature) (*g*), yet the possessor (enjoyer) of the modes.[2]

15 He is without and within all beings; motionless and yet moving; not discerned because of his subtlety; near and yet remote;

Not distributed in beings, yet constantly distributed in them; he is to be known as the sustainer of all; he devours[3] and he creates.

The light of all things luminous, he is declared to be above (all) darkness. He is knowledge, its object, and its end (*h*), seated in the hearts of all.

Thus matter, knowledge, and that which must be known, have been briefly set forth. He who worships Me and discerns this (Supreme Spirit) is fitted to become one with Me (*i*).

Know that Nature and Spirit are both without beginning. Know, too, that variations (of material forms) and the modes (*j*) spring from Nature.

20 In the activity of the organs of action (*k*) Nature[4] is called the cause: in the sensation of pleasure and pain spirit is called the cause.

For spirit seated in Nature possesses (makes use of) the modes that spring from Nature and the connection of this with modes is the cause of birth in good or evil wombs.[5]

[1] Possessing all that the senses can give, as seeing, &c., but without any bodily conditions.

[2] From the dual nature of Brahma, who, as involving Prakṛiti in his lower nature, possesses the modes or constituent elements of the latter, but in his higher spiritual nature, which is truly himself, he has no connection with any form of matter.

[3] At the end of a *kalpa* or day of Brahmā (see c. viii. 16), all existent things are absorbed in Prakṛiti, and are sent forth again into actual formal life at the beginning of another *kalpa*, by the command of Brahmā.

[4] Prakṛiti or primordial matter.

[5] The action of the modes causes a new birth and is never absolutely good. The *summum bonum* or ab-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Surveyor, director, supporter, possessor (*l*), the mighty Lord, thus is the Supreme Spirit called; the supreme *purusha* (male creative power) in this body.[1]

He who knows this creative power (*purusha*) and Nature with its modes, in whatever state he may be, is never born again.

Some by meditation perceive the soul in themselves by themselves, others by devotion (*yoga*) in the Sānkhya[2] (system), and others by devotion in works;

But others, who know it not, hear of it from others and worship, and these, too, devoted to the sacred doctrine, pass over death.

When any existence whatever, animate or inanimate, is produced, know, O son of Bharata! that it exists by this union of matter and spirit.

He who sees the Supreme Lord dwelling alike in all beings, the Imperishable in things that perish, sees indeed;

For seeing the Lord as the same, everywhere present, he destroys not himself by himself, and thus he goes to the supreme seat.

But he who sees that works are wrought in every case by Nature (*Prakṛiti*), and that therefore the soul is not an agent, sees indeed.

When he sees that the separate natures of things are seated in One and issue from it alone, then he attains to Brahma.

sorption into Brahma can only be gained by an absolute freedom from the influence of the modes by the practice of devout meditation.

[1] In the person of Kṛishṇa, who is identified with Brahma.

[2] The term *yoga*, devotion or worship, cannot properly be applied to the system of Kapila, for by it knowledge, *i.e.*, the knowledge of philosophy, was set far above the ritual of the Vedas, and above all religious practices.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

This eternal Supreme Spirit, without beginning, devoid of modes, works not and is not stained, O son of Kuntī! even when it is embodied.

As the ether that pervades all things is not stained through its subtlety, so the soul everywhere seated in bodies (*m*) is not stained.

As one sun alone illumines all this world, so the soul illumines the whole of matter, O son of Bharata!

They who see, by the eye of knowledge, this difference between matter (*kshetra*) and spirit (*kshetrajna*, matter-knowing), and the deliverance of beings from Nature[1] (*Prakṛiti*), these go to the Supreme.

[1] By the soul becoming free from all contact with matter in *nirvāṇa*.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Thirteenth, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY THE SEPARATION OF MATTER AND SPIRIT."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) In MS. (D) in the Royal Library at Paris, in two MSS. of London, in the Calcutta ed. of the Mahābhārata, and in three MSS. in my possession, the following distich is found at the beginning of the chapter. It is probably of late introduction :—

"Arjuna spoke. I desire to learn Nature and spirit-life (*purusha*), matter and the matter-knowing (soul), science and its objects, O Keśava!"

(*b*) *Kshetra*, prim. a plain, a field; and hence matter, as that which is objective to the soul.

(*c*) *Prabhāva*. "Its incomprehensible sovereignty" (Śrīdhara). "Qualium capax" (Lassen and others). Primarily "birth," its secondary meanings are good family, high rank, power, authority.

(*d*) *Chhandobhis*. *Chhandas* is either metre or a chanted hymn. "Haud dubie," says Lassen, "indicatur pars quædam Vedorum." Śrīdhara says, "By Vasishṭha (a Vedic poet) and the rest." "By the Rig-Veda and the other Vedas" (Ananda). So say the Hindū scholiasts. This is possible, for our author does not discard the Vedas, though their ritual he held to be inferior in effect to pious meditation (*yoga*).

(*e*) *Brahmasūtrapadais*. *Pada* (foot) is here = metre or verse. The *sūtras* (threads) are the poetical distichs in which many of the Hindū philosophic works are composed. There is a work by Bādarāyaṇa called "Brahma-sūtras," but the reference is probably to any hymns in honour of Brahma. Śankara says they were sūtras for the making known of Brahma.

(*f*) *Asaktam*, "unattached;" see p. 55. "Affectu immune" (Lassen).

(*g*) *Guṇabhoktri*. "Qualitatibus fruens" (Lassen); "Il perçoit tous les modes" (Burnouf). The root *bhuj*, to eat,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

means also to possess, to enjoy. The meaning is that Brahma can use the modes of Prakṛiti, though they are not in him.

(*h*) *Jñānam, jñeyam, jñānagamyam.* Burnouf has, I think, correctly translated these words: "Science, objet de la science, but de la science." Mr. Thomson's translation is: "It is spiritual knowledge itself, the object of that knowledge to be obtained by spiritual knowledge," and, thinking the first part expresses a very forced idea, would read *jnānajneyam.* But all the MSS. read *jñānam.* The aim of all true knowledge is absorption into the Divine nature, according to Patanjali.

(*i*) *Upapadyate.* "Is conformed to my nature" (Thomson). Lassen and Burnouf, more correctly, "Comes to my nature," *i.e.*, is absorbed in it. Śrīdhara's explanation is, "He is fit for union with Brahma."

(*j*) *Vikārāṅś cha gunāṅś cha.* "Passions and the (three) qualities" (Thomson); but all passion is from the qualities or modes. The meaning is that all the varieties of existent things and the modes, too, from which they spring, are from Prakṛiti (Nature). Śrīdhara's gloss is: "Changes or modifications (*pariṇāma*) of the modes, pleasure, pain, &c., which spring from Prakṛiti." Telang translates *vikāra* by "emanation;" but this is not the meaning of the word.

(*k*) *Kāryakāranakartritwe.* Burnouf has *kāya* (body), but all the MSS., I believe, have *kārya* (effect, or thing to be done). The Hindū scholiasts and Lassen refer, however, the word to the body: "In actione ministerii corporalis." The meaning seems to be: "In the activity or actual working of means and end (cause and effect), Nature is called the cause;" both means and end being material. (See Lassen's note, p. 232.)

(*l*) *Bhoktā.* "Perceptor" (Lassen); "enjoyer" (Thomson). Brahma is a usufruct of material things by offerings, &c. Śrīdhara explains the word by *pālaka* (guardian).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*m*) *Sarvatrāvasṭhito dehe.* "Ubicunque cum corpore congressus (spiritus)" (Lassen); "Present in every (kind of) body" (Thomson). Dr. Lorinser thinks the meaning is that the soul is in every part of the body, but the reference is to soul in the abstract, as everywhere enclosed in bodies. S'rīdhara says that the soul everywhere placed is not soiled; it is not connected with the bodily faults of the modes (*guṇa*). The soul then has no guilt or pollution of sin upon it.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE FOURTEENTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Now I will further declare that sublime science, the chief of the sciences, by which all the *munis* have passed from this world to the highest perfection (*nirvāṇa*).

Having devoted themselves to this science, and having entered into my nature, they are not born again even in a new creation, and in the dissolution (of the world) they are not disturbed[1] (*a*).

The mighty Brahma is my womb; therein I place the living germ,[2] and from this comes the birth of all things that exist, O son of Bharata!

[1] When a *kalpa* begins and ends; see c. viii. They are born no more under any circumstances.

[2] There is a difficulty here. Brahmă, the One Universal Spirit, is said to be the fertilising womb in which all things are formed. Mr. Thomson's explanation is that "as Brahmā [Brahmă as Creator] is the mythological personification of a Vedic or semi-mythological Supreme Being, so is Brahmă here the philosophical type of the creative principle of the philosophical Supreme Being." But the only philosophy we have to consider here is the Hindū philosophy, and Brahmă is not, in any Hindū system, the direct source of material forms. The true explanation seems to be that Kṛishṇa, as the representative of Vishṇu or Brahmā, is the *material* source of created things, as containing Prakṛiti or Nature, of which they are the development, and Brahmă is the animating, vivifying power. Krishṇa then may be considered as the material, and Brahmă the efficient, cause of creation. Humboldt offers nearly the same explanation: "Kṛishṇa is the same as Brahmă, is the highest Brahmă himself. But we must not reverse the proposition, and herein lies the difference. Brahmă is the divine original power (*urkraft*), but reposing in his eternity; as God, here Kṛishṇa, the divine personality (*persönlichkeit*), comes forth" (Essay on the B. G., p. 21). As Brahmā, Kṛishṇa gives the material germ (*garbha*)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

In whatever wombs mortals are born, O son of Kuntī! Brahmā is their mighty womb, and I the seed-giving Sire.

5 "Goodness," "Passion," and "Darkness;" thus are named the modes[1] (*guṇas*) which spring from Nature (*Prakṛiti*), and bind down the eternal, embodied (soul) in the body,[2] O large-armed one!

Of these, "goodness," being lustrous and pure from its unsullied nature, binds (the soul), O sinless one! by the attachment (bond) of happiness and of knowledge.

Know that "passion," having the nature of desire, and being the source of attachment and craving, binds the embodied (soul), O son of Kuntī! by the attachment of work.

But know that "darkness," born of ignorance, which bewilders all embodied (souls), binds them, O son of Bharata! by stupidity, idleness, and sleep.

which is vitalised by the spiritual Brahmā, the animating principle (*jīvātman*). (Cf. c. xv. 12–17.) In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the Brahmā is spoken of as the material cause of all things, and is addressed by the goddess Earth as Vishṇu [*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa]. In the Institutes of Manu it is stated that the Supreme Omnipresent Intelligence is the sovereign Lord of all the gods; that some admire him as transcendently present in elementary fire, others as the most High Eternal Spirit. It is he who, pervading all things, . . . causes them, by the gradations of birth, growth, and dissolution, to revolve in this world like the wheels of a car" (xii. 122–124). Śrīdhara says that Brahma is Prakṛiti (Nature), "the womb of Me, the supreme Lord;" but this, I think, is a mistake. The following quotations are against this explanation:—"Before the mundane egg existed the holy Brahmā, Hiraṇyagarbha, the bodily form (*mūrttirūpa*) of Brahmā, who is the seat of the holy Vishṇu" (Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 1, 4). "This knowledge of soul . . . was declared by Brahmā, Hiraṇyagarbha, or by the Supreme Lord (*parameśwara*) through his agency" (Śankara's Commentary on the Chhand. Up. viii. 15, 1; Sans. T. iii. 285).

[1] See Introd., p. 10, and Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 36.

[2] They bind it to bodily conditions in a new birth, preventing it from attaining *nirvāṇa*. They do not "influence" the soul, as Mr. Thomson translates the word. They bind or imprison it in a bodily form.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

"Goodness" binds (the soul to matter) by pleasure; "passion," O son of Bharata! by works; but "darkness," having veiled knowledge, binds by stupid folly.

10 When one has subdued "passion" and "darkness," then "goodness" (alone) exists, O son of Bharata! When "passion" and "goodness," then "darkness" exists; and "passion" when "darkness" and "goodness" (are subdued).

When in this body, at all its gates, the bright light of knowledge is produced, then one may know that "goodness" is there matured.

Avarice, activity, the undertaking of works, unrest, and desire,—these are produced, O chief of Bharatas! when "passion" is matured.

Darkness, inertness, and also stupidity and bewilderment,—these are produced, O son of Kuru! when "darkness" is matured.

If, moreover, a mortal goes to dissolution, when "goodness" is matured (in him), then he goes to the spotless regions[1] of those who are supremely wise (*b*).

15 If he go to dissolution when "passion" prevails, he is born among those who are attached to works; if he depart when "darkness" prevails, he is born in the wombs of the stupid.[2]

The fruit of a good action is said (to have the property of) "goodness," and to be unsullied; but the fruit of "passion" is pain, and the fruit of "darkness" is ignorance.

Knowledge is produced from "goodness," avarice from "passion;" stupidity, delusion, and ignorance also, from "darkness."

[1] The heaven of Indra or Brahmā, not to the Supreme Brahmā.

[2] As a beast, a reptile, or even as inorganic matter.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

They who are established in "goodness" go on high; they whose nature is of "passion" dwell in the middle place; but the "dark," who abide in a state of vile qualities, go below.

When the observer recognises no other agent than the modes (of Nature),[1] and knows That which is above the modes, he comes to my being.

When the embodied (soul) has passed beyond the three modes,[2] from which all bodies (*c*) have sprung, then, freed from birth, death, old age, and pain, it eats immortal food (*amṛita*).

ARJUNA *spoke.*

What marks are those, O Lord! of the man who has passed beyond the three modes? What is his manner of life, and how does he pass beyond these three modes?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

He who has no aversion, O son of Pāṇḍu! for brightness, activity, and even delusion,[3] when they are present, nor desires them when they are absent;

Who, seated as a stranger,[4] is not moved by the modes, who stands apart and wavers not, saying, "The modes are now in action;"

To whom pleasure and pain are the same, who is self-possessed; to whom a clod, a stone, and gold are the same; who holds as equal things loved and unloved; who is steadfast; to whom praise and blame are equal;

[1] See c. iii. 28.

[2] Becoming separated, when the soul attains to knowledge, from all the modes or elemental forms of Nature (*Prakṛiti*).

[3] These are the names of the three modes, which are described by their effects.

[4] That is, the soul, which is not formed from the modes of Nature, and is superior to them, is a stranger in the world of action.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

25 And equal, too, honour and dishonour; who regards friend and foe alike; who renounces all enterprise,—he is called a "surmounter of the modes."

And he who worships Me by an exclusive devotion in *yoga*, he having passed beyond the modes, is conformed to the nature of Brahma.

For I am the seat (*d*) of Brahma, of the imperishable ambrosia, of eternal law, and of happiness complete.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Fourteenth, whose title is,

"DEVOTION BY SEPARATION FROM THE THREE MODES."

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Na vyathanti.* "Non percelluntur" (Lassen); "La dissolution des choses ne les atteint pas" (Burnouf). Telang's version is, "They do not suffer pain," *i.e.*, the pain of a repetition of births. *Vyath* means to stagger, to reel, to be moved or disturbed. The doctrine of our author is, that they remain unchanged when the world is dissolved, being absorbed in Brahma.

(*b*) *Uttamavidām.* "Qui summum norunt" (Lassen); "who obtain the highest place" (Thomson); "les clairvoyants" (Burnouf). S'ankara explains the word as denoting those who have a knowledge of the subtler forms of matter, as *buddhi* (intellect). I have translated the word by "supremely wise," because the wise, if under the influence of the mode (element of Nature) called "goodness," may attain to a high heavenly seat; but they who know Brahma as devotees receive *nirvāṇa*, or absorption in him. S'rīdhara says they go to the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

worlds of Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā the Creator), and other gods.

(*c*) *Dehasamudbhavān.* "E corpore genitis" (Lassen). Thomson, more correctly, I think, translates it by "who co-originate with the body," or rather "with body;" both bodily forms and the modes or elements of Nature being from Prakṛiti (Nature or primal matter). Śrīdhara's gloss is "producing bodies which are modifications of them."

(*d*) *Pratishṭhā.* "Instar numinis" (Lassen); "representative" (Thomson). I prefer Burnouf's version, "La demeure de Dieu." Brahma dwelt in Kṛishṇa, was incarnated in him. In the Petersburg Dictionary it is interpreted as "standort," "grund," "ort des Anhalts." Ananda's gloss is, "The highest in the outer form which adjoins his proper spiritual form."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE FIFTEENTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Men say that the sacred fig-tree (*aśwattha*), that has its roots above and its branches downward, is eternal: its leaves are metrical hymns: he who knows it knows the Vedas.[1]

Down and on high its branches are extended, enlarged by the modes (of Nature): its buddings (*a*) are the objects of the senses; and downward its roots are drawn—the bonds of action[2] in the world of men.

Here below its form cannot be known, nor its end, nor its beginning, nor its whole nature or constitution (*b*). When one has cut down this large-rooted *Aśwattha* by the solid weapon of indifference,

Then that seat may be sought for,[3] from which they who have reached it never return: to that primeval Sire I refer, from whom the ancient emanation (*c*) (of the universe) flowed.

5 The men who are free from pride and delusion, in whom the evil of attachment is conquered, who are devoted to the Supreme Spirit, who have abandoned desire,—these,

[1] In this obscure episode there is certainly an attack on the authority of the Vedas. A passive state of indifference to all worldly interests is superior to the observance of the Vedic rites. The fig-tree (*Aśwattha*) is the *Ficus religiosa*, here used as a type of the Vedic system.

[2] Binding men to subsequent births, as roots bind a tree to the soil.

[3] The Supreme Brahma.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

freed from the pairs of opposites known as pleasure and pain, go, undeluded, to the eternal seat.

That (seat) no sun enlightens, nor moon, nor fire; they who reach it return no more: that is my supreme abode.

An eternal portion of Me having become a separate existence (*d*), (an individual soul) in the world of life draws to itself the five senses and the *manas*,[1] which are seated in Nature (*Prakṛiti*).

When the sovereign (spirit) obtains a body, and when he quits it, these he seizes and accompanies, as the wind (takes) odours (of flowers) from their bed.

Presiding over the ear, the eye, over touch, taste, and smelling, and also over the *manas*, he connects himself with the objects of sense.

10 They whose minds are confused see him not when he departs or when he abides, nor when, connected with the modes, he enjoys; but they see who have the eyes of knowledge.

Devout men (*yogins*) who are intent (thereon) see this (spirit) seated in themselves; but the senseless, whose minds are unformed, see it not, even though intent (on seeing it).

Know that the splendour which is seated in the sun and illumines the whole universe, that which is in the moon and in fire, is from Me.[2]

Entering into the earth, I sustain all things by my vital force, and becoming a savoury juice,[3] I nourish all herbs.

[1] The soul which is bound to matter in the *linga* (subtle body), and mediately to the gross body. The *linga* goes with the soul in its migrations. (Sānk. Kār. p. 76.)

[2] From Prakṛiti, the Nature form of Brahma, here represented by Kṛishṇa. See c. ix. 7, 8.

[3] *Soma*, translated by Telang, who follows the Hindū commentators,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

I become fire (heat), and enter into the bodies of all that breathe, and (then) being united with the inward and outward breath, I digest (cook) the four kinds of food.[1]

15 [And I am seated in the hearts of all: from Me come memory, knowledge, and the power of reason. I am also that which is to be known in all the Vedas. I form the Vedānta,[2] and I am one who knows the Vedas.]

In this world there are two existences, the Perishable and the Imperishable:[3] the Perishable consists of all living things, the Imperishable is called "The Lord on high" (*e*).

But there is another, the highest existence, called the Supreme Spirit, who, as the eternal Lord (*Īśwara*), pervades the three worlds and sustains them.

Wherefore, since I surpass the Perishable, and am higher than even the Imperishable, I am celebrated among men (in the world) and in the Vedas as the Supreme Existence (*Purushottama*).

He who is not deluded and knows me as this Supreme

"the watery moon;" but this gives an unintelligible application to the passage. It is not the moon which is here referred to, but the sap which is the life of all plants. Soma is the sacred juice of the *Asclepias acida*.

[1] The four kinds are said by Hindū commentators to be: (1) what is broken by the teeth; (2) what is drunk; (3) what is licked by the tongue; and (4) what is sucked by the lips, or eaten without being chewed.

[2] The passage enclosed in brackets is certainly an interpolation. The Vedānta, or system of Vedic interpretation, commonly limited to the Uttara Mīmānsā, is of later date than the Bhagavad Gītā.

[3] The first is Nature in her manifold forms, the second is the vivifying Brahmā, the third is the Supreme Spirit, the one Eternal God. (Cf. Manu i. 6–9.) "Then the self-existing Power, himself unmanifested, . . . willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed, which became an egg bright as gold, and in that egg he was born as Brahmā."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Existence, he, knowing all, O son of Bharata! worships Me with his whole nature.[1]

20 Thus this most mysterious doctrine has been declared by me, O sinless one! By knowing this a man may become wise, and one, O son of Bharata! who has completed every work (*f*).

[1] Śrīdhara's gloss is, "in every way or mode" (*prakāra*). Ananda's is, "by putting forth the whole soul."

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Fifteenth, whose title is

"DEVOTION IN ATTAINING TO THE HIGHEST BEING."

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Prabālās.* "Tendrils" (Thomson); "bourgeons" (Burnouf), more correctly.

(*b*) *Sampratishṭhā.* "Constitutio" (Lassen). Śrīdhara explains it by *sthiti*, place, or order. The reference seems to be to the complex ritual of the Vedic worship, which few, if any, knew completely.

(*c*) *Pravṛitti purāṇi.* "Vortex ille antiquus" (Lassen); "from whom the eternal stream of life emanates" (Thomson). *Pravṛitti* is the Hindū scholastic term for the flowing forth of all existent things at the command of Brahma, as *nivṛitti* is for the return or absorption of all things in him. But it is not an eternal stream. This idea is not in accordance with any Hindū theory of creation. It is the ancient emanation, referring to a definite past time.

(*d*) *Jīvabhūta.* "Vitalis" (Lassen); "having assumed life" (Thomson). The soul, however, never assumes life: it always

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

existed in Brahma. It becomes a separate existence, an individualised soul, when invested with bodily forms, and thus made a part of the existent world.

(*e*) *Kūṭastho.* See p. 83. In the Petersburg Dictionary this word is explained by "an der Spitze stehend," "die höchste Stelle einnehmend," and also by "ewig," "unveränderlich." Śrīdhara interprets it as "standing unchangeable or immovable like a mountain."

(*f*) *Kṛitakṛityas.* Mr. Thomson translates this compound by "he will do his duty," and K. T. Telang by "to his duty true." Lassen is nearer the real meaning: "omni negotio defunctus." The meaning is, that the devotee, having obtained fully spiritual knowledge, has risen beyond the need or the practice of any religious duty. Cf. Mahābhārata (Vana-parvan, 12,485): *kṛitakṛityāḥ* punar varṇā yadi vṛittam na vidyate; "The castes would then have completed their work, if no function or definite office exists." The commentator says that in this event all the three upper castes would become as Śūdras, who cannot take part in any rites of purification; or, in other words, their proper work or function would cease (Sans. T. i. 138).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE SIXTEENTH.

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

Fearlessness, purity of heart, continuance in the devotion of knowledge, almsgiving, self-restraint and sacrifice, solitary reading (*a*), penance, uprightness;

Innocence, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquillity, goodwill,[1] compassion for all, absence of desire or emotion,[2] gentleness, modesty, gravity;

Vigour, patience, firmness, chastity, absence of vindictiveness and of vanity,—these are the conditions, O son of Bharata! of a man who is born for a divine (*b*) lot.[3]

Deceit, pride, and self-conceit, wrath, rudeness, and ignorance, are the conditions of him, O son of Prithā! who is born for the lot of the Asuras.

5 The divine lot is deemed to be for deliverance (from matter[4]), that of the Asuras for bondage. Grieve not, O son of Bharata! thou wast born for a divine lot.

[1] *Apaiśunam*, not playing the spy, from *piśuna*, a spy; not prying into the faults of others. It may be translated "kindliness."

[2] *Alolatwam*, absence of desire, according to Śridhara, as of praise (?) (*varṇa*) or children. Śankara says that it means an unaffected state of the senses when brought into contact with the objects of sense. *Lola* means tremulous, emotional, desirous, and *alolatwam* denotes a passive, unruffled state of mind. *Varṇa* generally means colour or caste, but sometimes praise (*lob, preis*, Peters. Dict.)

[3] This refers to the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the migration of the soul to other bodies, so often alluded to in the Bhagavad Gītā. The good go after death to one of the heavens of the gods, the bad to the abode of Asuras (demons) or to vile forms of life.

[4] Freedom from all connection with matter or material forms in *nirvāṇa*. An Asura lot is the reverse.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

There are two kinds of creatures in this world—one divine, the other that of the Asuras. The divine has been described at large; hear now from Me, O son of Prithâ! the Asura kind.

The men who are like Asuras know neither creation (*c*) (*pravritti*) nor its end (by return to Brahma): no purity or good conduct or truth is found in them.

"The universe," say they, "has in it neither truth, nor order, nor a ruler (*d*),[1] is not produced by a succession (of causes) (*e*), and is only designed for lusts."

Fixed in this view, these ruined souls, small in intellect and cruel in deeds, prevail as foes for the ruin of the world.

10 Giving themselves up to insatiable lusts, full of deceit, vanity, and folly, they hold false notions through delusion, and in their lives are devoted to impurity.

They cherish immoderate thoughts, ending in death (*f*), accounting the enjoyment of their lusts the chief (good), persuaded that "*that* is all."

Bound by a hundred bands of hope, devoted to lust and wrath, they strive to gain hoards of wealth by unjust means for the enjoyment of their lusts.

"This," say they, "I have gained to-day: that desire of my heart I shall obtain. This possession is now mine, and that also shall be mine hereafter.

[1] Men who are atheists, or at least practically deny a divine origin or superintendence of the world. Atheists of a coarse, sensuous type seem to be chiefly assailed; for Kapila certainly did not admit a personal deity into his system, and yet he is spoken of in the Bhagavad Gîtâ with respect. Materialists like the Châr vâkas, who admitted only one source of knowledge, our sense-perceptions, and therefore refused to admit the truth or reality of any person or thing that is not cognisable by the senses, are here denounced. The author of the Bhagavad Gîtâ strenuously maintains the existence of an Eternal Supreme Spirit, whom the senses cannot discern.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

"This foe has been slain by me, and I shall slay the others also. I am a lord: I enjoy delights: I am successful,[1] powerful, happy.

15 "I am rich, I am of noble birth: what other man is like to me? I will sacrifice and give largesse. I will be merry." Thus (they speak), deluded by ignorance.

Tossed to and fro by many thoughts, enveloped in the meshes of delusion, devoted to the enjoyment of their lust, they fall down to the foul Naraka (hell).

Self-conceited, stubborn, filled with the pride and the intoxication of wealth, they offer with hypocrisy (*g*) vain sacrifices (lit. name-sacrifices), which are not according to ancient rule.

Devoted to egotism, violence, pride, lust, and wrath, these revilers are adverse to me in their own bodies and in (those of) others;

These men, haters (of Me), cruel, the vilest of mankind, these unholy men I cast down perpetually into the wombs of Asuras.

20 Having reached an Asura-womb, befooled from birth to birth, they never attain to Me, O son of Kuntī! and thus they go down the lowest way.

This threefold gate of hell—lust, wrath, and avarice—is the ruin of the soul; wherefore let every man renounce these three.

A man who has become free from these three gates of darkness (*h*), O son of Kuntī! works out the salvation of his soul, and thus he goes to the highest way.

[He who has abandoned the ordinances of sacred

[1] By the possession of children, cattle, &c., according to Ananda. The word (*siddha*) means here, I think, "perfectly successful."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

books,[1] and acts only as he lusts, attains not to perfection, happiness, or the highest way.[2]

Wherefore let the sacred books be thy rule in determining what is to be done or left undone. When thou hast learned what is the work enjoined by the rules of holy books, so oughtest thou to act.]

[1] Books of devotion or religious teaching, of whatever kind.

[2] By perfection is meant the highest earthly state, which Kapila asserted to be a state of perfect knowledge, *i.e.*, of the true nature of soul and matter; and Patanjali, the founder of the Yoga system, to be a state of mystic union with the divine nature through constant meditation. Blessedness is the heaven of one of the gods, as Indra. The highest way or goal is *nirvāṇa*. Śrīdhara glosses them as "the knowledge of truth, repose, and (final) deliverance." These two distichs are, I think, doubtful.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Sixteenth, whose title is,

"DEVOTION (MEDITATION) WITH REGARD TO THE SEPARATE STATE OF GODS AND ASURAS."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Swādhyāya.* "Pia meditatio" (Lassen); "study" (Thomson). It means reading to ones' self in a low tone the sacred books, especially the Vedas.

(*b*) *Sampadam daivīm.* "Qui divina sorte nascitur" (Lassen); "Né dans une condition divine" (Burnouf); "Born to heavenly endowments" (Telang). *Sampad* means state or condition, whether good or bad. A divine lot, according to Ananda, is "a fearless, true, and pure state."

(*c*) *Pravṛittim cha nivṛittim.* These words are often employed to denote the development of created things and their ceasing to be on returning to Brahma at the end of a kalpa. Cf. c. xviii. 46, *yataḥ pravṛittir bhūtānām*, "From whom is the creation (flowing forth) of things." Burnouf's translation is, "L'emanation et le retour." But S'ankara, S'rīdhara, and all the translators except Burnouf, interpret the words as meaning "action" and "inaction."

(*d*) *Asatyam apratishṭham, anīśwaram.* The Hindū scholiasts expla n the first term (untrue, unreal) to mean that there is nothing to be accepted as true, such as Vedas, Purāṇas, &c. "They deny the truth of the creation and preservation of the world as taught by the Vedas or the schools of philosophy" (Thomson). Perhaps we may rather say that they do not believe that the world is a real creation, but only a fortuitous concourse of atoms.

Apratishṭham. They deny that it is "really constituted" (Thomson). The Hindū scholiasts explain the word to mean that they affirm the non-existence of any fixed principle, based on virtue or vice, according to which the world is governed. This seems to be the true meaning. They deny that there is any moral government of the world, and therefore that it has a Supreme Lord.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(*e*) *Aparasparasambhūtam.* "Non ex certa causarum successione" (Lassen). Burnouf translates it, rather widely, "Que le monde est composé de phénomènes se poussant l'un l'autre." Lassen has shown that *aparaspara* means "Not proceeding from one to another by way of succession." They deny such a succession in the order of development or creation as the Sānkhya or Yoga system taught. Ananda and S'rīdhara say that they assign the creation of the world to an union of male and female, meaning probably that the world was supposed to be formed purely from natural causes.

(*f*) *Chintām pralayāntām.* Lassen translates the passage, "Leto omnia finire," and with him Burnouf and Thomson agree. Lorinser and Telang interpret it as meaning that their thoughts end with death. The words do not seem to express any speculative opinion of such persons on the existence or non-existence of a future life, but that they think only of the present. They ignore everything beyond death, caring only for the enjoyments of the present world. S'rīdhara says, "that of which death is the end or limit."

(*g*) *Dambhena. Dambha* means deceit, hypocrisy, and also pride; presumption. Telang's translation is "merely for show;" "Ad simulationem sanctitatis" (Lassen). S'rīdhara says, "without faith."

(*h*) Darkness is a name for Naraka or Pātāla, the infernal regions.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE SEVENTEENTH.[1]

ARJUNA *spoke.*

What is the state, O Kṛishṇa! of those who offer sacrifice and are endowed with faith, but yet forsake the ordinances of sacred books? Is it one of "goodness," "passion," or "darkness" (the modes or elements of Nature)?

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

The faith of embodied (natures) is of three kinds, and arises from the individual nature of each.[2] It is "good," "passionate," or "dark" in kind. Hear now these (kinds).

The faith of every one, O son of Bharata! is conformed to his real nature. That which is the (object of) faith for the man who believes, even such is he.

"Good" men worship the Devas; men of "passion," the Yakshas and Rākshasas;[3] others, men of "darkness," the hosts of Pretas and Bhūtas.[4]

[1] In chap. xiv. the nature and action of the three modes, which are the constituent elements of Nature (*Prakṛiti*), have been described. Here their action is shown upon the faith of mankind and their religious and other works.

[2] It is according to the *swabhāva*, or individual nature of the man, determined, as the Hindū commentators assert, by the actions of the preceding life. Śankara's gloss, in the next distich, is "endowed with a distinguishing formation or faculty (*sanskāra*).

[3] For an explanation of these words—Yakshas and Rākshasas—see p. 103.

[4] Pretas and Bhūtas are a foul kind of demons, who haunt graveyards. Their worship is a low, degrading kind of fetichism.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

5 The men who practise austerities of a severe kind not ordained by sacred books,[1] being wholly given up to dissimulation and self-conceit; full of lust, passion, and violence;

Torturing—the fools!—the mass of elements seated in the body, and Me also who dwell within it;[2] know that these have the resolves of Asuras.

But the food which is pleasant to each (kind) is also threefold: so also are sacrifice, penance, and almsgiving. Hear now the distinctions of these.

The foods which give an increase to life, substance, strength, health, well-being, and joy (*a*); which are savoury, fat, substantial, and cordial, are the foods which are pleasant to the "good."

Foods that are strong in savour, sour, salted, overhot, pungent, harsh, and inflaming, which produce pain, grief, and disease, are the foods desired by men endowed with "passion."

10 And that which is stale (*b*), which has lost savour, is stinking and corrupt, which is even refuse and filthy, is the food dear to men of "darkness."

A sacrifice which is offered without desire for gain and

[1] Mr. Thomson thinks the Vedas are not alluded to here in the word *śāstras* but only the Yoga-sutras, attributed to Patanjali. The Vedas were, however, not formally rejected by the author of the Bhagavad Gītā, though practically ignored by the perfect devotee. We may assume that a wider range is given to the word than Mr. Thomson suggests. It is interesting to observe that our author could protest against the foolish austerities practised by the lower class of devotees.

[2] Cf. chap. xvi. 18. The individual soul, proceeding from the Supreme Brahma, is spoken of as being that Spirit himself, and here the poem has a Vedāntist tinge. Both Kapila and Patanjali taught that each soul is a separate entity, and perhaps our author meant only to assert that each soul is an emanation from Brahma.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

according to rule, in saying, "Sacrifice must be done," with a resolved mind, is "good."

But the sacrifice which is offered for the obtaining of reward and for ostentation, know, O best of Bharatas! that this is of the nature of "passion."

The sacrifice which is offered against the rules,[1] without giving of food, without holy hymns[2] and Brāhman-fees,[3] and devoid of faith, is declared to be "dark."

Reverence given to gods, Brāhmans, spiritual guides, and the wise, with purity, uprightness, a Brāhmacharin's vow,[4] and innocence, are called the penance of the body.

15 Speech that causes no agitation,[5] is truthful, pleasant, and good, with diligence in solitary readings, these are called the penance of speech.

Serenity of heart, equanimity, silence, self-control, and purity of nature, these are called the penance of the heart (*manas*).

This threefold penance, practised in perfect faith by devout men, who seek no gain therein, is declared to be "good."

[1] Without the prescribed ceremonial. (See Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 345.) Here the same spirit of compromise is manifest that we find in other parts of the poem. The perfect Yogin is indeed above all outward acts of devotion (see p. 137); but such acts are allowable as a means of gaining the higher state of the true devotee, or for those who cannot rise to a state of pure mental devotion (*yoga*).

[2] The *mantras* are the Vedic hymns.

[3] The *dakshiṇā*, or fee given to the officiating Brāhman. The efficacy of the rite was supposed to be, in some degree, dependent on these gifts and proportioned to them. It is said in Manu xi. 40: "The organs of sense and action, reputation, a celestial abode, life, renown (after death), children, and cattle, are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling gifts: let no man therefore sacrifice without liberal donations."

[4] A young Brāhman under tuition, who has taken a vow of chastity.

[5] Neither irritating nor indecent; not causing any excitement of anger or lust. K. T. Telang translates *udvega* by "sorrow," but this meaning is too limited.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

The penance that is done in order to gain a good reception, honour, and reverence (*c*), and is done also in hypocrisy, is called "passion-born;" it is unstable and transient.

The penance that is done from a foolish purpose (*d*), for the torture of one's self or to cause the ruin of another,[1] that is called "dark."

The gift of alms which is made in saying, "This must be given," to one who cannot return it, in a proper place and time and to a worthy object (*e*), is called "good."[2]

But that which is given for the sake of return or on account of gain hereafter,[3] or is given reluctantly, that is regarded as "passion-born."

The gift which is given ungraciously or with disdain, at an improper place and time or to unworthy objects, is called "dark."

[*OM, Tat, Sat*,[4] thus has been handed down the three-

[1] Severe austerities were supposed to give supernatural power, which a Yogin will use, or affect to use, against any who may offend him. Cf. Manu xi. 239: "Whatever is hard to be surmounted or obtained, or reached or effected, is all to be accomplished through religious austerities (*tapas*), of which the power can hardly be surpassed."

[2] The Hindū commentators explain this passage in accordance with their own religious tendencies. A proper place is a holy place such as Benares: a proper time is during an eclipse, or at the full moon, the eleventh day of the moon, or the morning (Lorinser).

[3] That is, in the hope of heaven and the rest (Śrīdhara). He also explains *pariklishṭam* (reluctantly), by "with trouble of mind."

[4] OM. See chap. i. 1. *Tat* (That) is used in the common religious phrase, *Tat twam asi*, Thou art that, *i.e.*, the whole universe, as it is usually explained; but more strictly it denotes the absolute existence of all things in him. Śrīdhara says it means Brahma and the other gods of revelation (*śruti*). Śankara says that these words have been handed down in the Vedāntas. *Sat* is used by Manu to denote the Supreme Being. "He who is *sat* ('that which is,' Sir W. Jones), Cause, Unmanifested, . . . produced the creative Power (Purusha = male), celebrated in the world as Brahmā" (i. 2). This is the Vedāntist use of the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

fold designation of Brahma. By him Brāhmans, the Vedas, and sacrifices were ordained of old.

Wherefore *OM* is always uttered by those who know Brahma, when the acts of sacrifice, alms, and penance begin that are ordained by rule.

25 *Tat* is said when the various kinds of sacrifice, penance, and alms are done, without regard to gain, by those who desire (final) deliverance.

Sat is the word employed to denote truth and goodness. The word is also used, O son of Pṛithā! in (the doing of) a laudable act.[1]

Continuance (*f*) in sacrifice, penance, and alms is also called *sat*, and an act, too, done in behalf of these things is called *sat*.

Whatever sacrifice, penance, or alms is performed, and whatever act is done, without faith, that is called *asat*,[2] O son of Pṛithā! and is of no account in this life or after death.][3]

word, implying that he is the only Being; "that which is," to the exclusion of any other Being. The philosophic meaning of *sat* is, the sum of existent things, represented as effects. (See Sānkhya Kārika, p. 135.)

[1] That is, "marriage (*vivāha*) and such like," say the Hindū commentators.

[2] *Asat*, meaning here (1) unreal and (2) bad.

[3] The distichs from distich 23 to the end seem to be doubtful.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Seventeenth, whose title is

"DEVOTION BY THE THREEFOLD KINDS OF FAITH."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Arogya-sukha-prīti.* "Sanitatem, voluptatem, hilaritatem augentes" (Lassen); "la santé, le bien-être et la joie" (Burnouf); "health, happiness, and relish" (Telang). Śrīdhara interprets *sukha* as meaning peace of mind, and *prīti* as joy. *A-rogya* means freedom from disease; *sukha* is well represented by the French *bien-être; prīti* (love, joy) denotes the pleasant sensations of a body well nourished and in perfect health.

(*b*) *Yātayāman*, that has remained over the watches of a night. The night is divided into three watches of four hours each. In India, food so kept is often unwholesome.

(*c*) *Satkāramānapūjārtham.* "Honorem, dignitatem et reverentiam sibi comparandi gratia" (Lassen). *Satkāra* means a gracious and hospitable reception. It is used in the Nala to denote hospitality. *Mānas* implies respect or esteem, and *pūja* outward deference or homage. Burnouf translates by "l'honneur, le respect et les hommages;" but the first word is not represented with sufficient accuracy.

(*d*) *Mūḍhagrāheṇa.* "Ex inepto commento" (Lassen); "from an erroneous view (of the nature of mortification)" (Thomson); "née d'une imagination egarée" (Burnouf). Śrīdhara's explanation is "done without discrimination." *Grāha* is interpreted in the Petersburg Dictionary by *unternehmen* with reference to this passage.

(*e*) *Pātrē.* *Pātra* means a vessel or receptacle; here a proper receptacle or receiver. Śrīdhara says that the locative case is here put for the dative, but unnecessarily, for a gift is placed in the hands of a recipient. He says also that a good gift is one given to a Brāhman well practised in austerities and in the sacred books. Lassen has a different version: "Equidem dixerim, *pātrē* h.l. non de persona esse intelligen-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

dum, sed interpretandum esse, data justa occasione;" but this seems to be included in the former part of the passage, and *pûtra* (the Gr. ποτής) cannot well be translated by "occasio."

(*f*) *Sthiti.* "Certa consuetudo" (Lassen); "la perseverance" (Burnouf). Mr. Thomson translates the word by "a quiescent state of sacrifice," &c., and explains the passage as meaning the doing of such acts in the mind alone, offering up sacrifice mentally performed. This would be in accordance with our author's views; but the word denotes "continuance," "constancy." S'rîdhara's interpretation is "abiding (therein) by means of application or devotedness." S'ankara refers the word *sat* to things done on behalf of the Îśwara or Lord (Brahma).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

READING THE EIGHTEENTH.[1]

ARJUNA *spoke.*

I desire to know, O large-armed one! the true nature of abstention (*sannyāsa*), O Hṛishīkeśa! and of renunciation (*tyāga*), O slayer of Keśin!

THE HOLY ONE *spoke.*

The wise understand by "Abstention" the abandonment of all works connected with desire,[2] and the discerning call the forsaking of the *fruit* of works "Renunciation."

Some wise men affirm that (all) work should be abandoned as an evil,[3] others that works of sacrifice, almsgiving, and penance are not to be given up.

Hear now my decree about renunciation, O best of Bharatas! for it is set forth as of three kinds, O valiant one!

Works of sacrifice, alms, and penance must not be given

[1] In this chapter the author asserts again some of the leading doctrines of the Yoga school.

[2] See chap. iv. 19, 20.

[3] The first opinion is referred by Mr. Thomson to Kapila and his disciples, and the second to the followers of the Mīmānsā (Vedāntist) school; but Kapila has not left any record of such an opinion: he only maintains that a state of complete isolation of the soul from matter is its perfect state. Śrīdhara decides that work binds the soul (to matter) by injuriousness, violence, and evil connected with it. The Mīmānsā school made no such limitations to work as the second doctrine teaches. The dispute probably lay between different sections of the Yoga school.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

up; these must indeed be done. Sacrifice, alms, and penance are the purifications of the wise.

But even these works must be done in renouncing attachment and the fruit (of works): this, O son of Pṛithā! is my supreme and fixed decree.

Abstention from a work of obligation is not fitting; the abandonment of this (kind of work) is from delusion, and is declared to be "dark."[1]

He who abandons a work (*a*) through fear of bodily distress, saying, "It is painful," practises a renunciation that has the nature of "passion," and will receive no gain thereby.

The renunciation of him who does a work of obligation, saying, "This must be done," Arjuna! renouncing attachment and fruit, is deemed to be "good."

10 He who has no aversion for an unprosperous work (*b*) and for a prosperous work has no attachment,[2] who is thoughtful and whose doubts are destroyed, is a "renouncer" endowed with "goodness."

For it is not possible for an embodied person to abstain from work absolutely, but he who abandons the *fruit* of work is regarded as a "renouncer."

The fruit of work after death for those who do not renounce is of a threefold kind—desired, undesired, and mixed; but there is none whatever for those who abandon it (the fruit of work).

Learn from me, O large-armed one! these five condi-

[1] Referring to the three modes (*guṇas*), which form all material things, including the heart (*manas*) and the intellect (*buddhi*).

[2] If free from attachment to the objects of sense and the desire of "fruit" or reward, for this cannot procure *nirvāṇa*, but only one of the heavens of the gods. Those who seek no reward in action desire to be absorbed for ever in Brahma.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

tions, declared in the Sānkhya[1] (system) as necessary for the completion of every act.

Seat (of action) the agent, the instrument in each separate kind; the various efforts in their several kinds, and also, as fifth, the divine part.[2]

15 The work which a man undertakes by his body, speech, and mind, whether just or the contrary, is caused by these five (conditions).

This being so, he who regards himself as being solely the agent,[3] through an unformed intellect, he, being dull in mind, sees not at all.

The man whose nature is free from egotism, and whose intellect is not sullied (obscured), slays not and is not bound,[4] though he should slay (all) these peoples.

Knowledge, that which is to be known, and the knowing (soul) from the threefold impulse of action. The instrument, the act, the doer, these are the threefold complements of work.

Knowledge, work, and agent are said to be of three kinds, distinguished by their different qualities; hear now what they are according to the qualities.[5]

[1] Śankara strangely refers this word to the Vedānta-śāstra, written many centuries after the time of Kapila.

[2] The fifth condition would be admitted only by the theistic branch of the Sānkhya school. Kapila's system does not recognise any divine interposition. The soul gains its final deliverance by its own powers. Śankara refers this part to the favour of the Ādityas and the rest. Śrīdhara refers the last cause to the assistance or favour (*anugraha*) of the gods, and to the action of the internal controller or conscience (*antaryāmin*). He interprets *adhishṭhāna* (place, domain) as the subject body or matter of an action—that which can be acted upon. My copy has *adhinamśariram;* read *adhīnamśariram.*

[3] Because there are other conditions of action beside himself. See c. iii. 27.

[4] His acts do not bind him to a future birth. He has risen beyond the power of actions thus to bind him.

[5] The qualities or constituent elements of Nature (Prakṛiti) in the system of Kapila (Introd., p. 10).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

20 Know that the knowledge by which One Eternal Essence is seen in all creatures, undivided in the divided, is "good."

Know that the knowledge is of "passion" which sees in all things, by reason of their separateness, (only) many existences severally divided.

But that which attaches itself to each single object as if it were the whole, being without reason (*c*), devoid of truth and mean, that is called "dark."

An action which is necessary, free from attachment, which is done without desire or aversion, and by one who desires no gain therein, is called "good."[1]

But the action which is done by one who seeks to gain his desires, or from self-conceit, or is attended with great effort, is declared to be of "passion."

25 If one undertakes a work from delusion, without regarding consequences, or loss or injury (to others), and also one's own power, that is called "dark."

The agent who is free from attachment and egotism, who is endowed with constancy and energy, and is unmoved by good and evil fortune, is called "good."

The agent who is impassioned, who seeks the fruit of works, who is greedy, injurious, and impure, who feels joy or sorrow, is said to be of "passion."

The agent who is inattentive, vulgar (*d*), obstinate, deceitful, negligent, slothful, desponding, and dilatory, is called "dark."

Hear now the threefold division of intellect (*buddhi*) and of constancy, O conqueror of wealth! declared fully and in their separate divisions, according to their qualities.

30 The intellect which knows action and inaction, what

[1] See chap. iv. 20–22.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

ought to be done and what ought not to be done, fear and fearlessness,[1] and which knows deliverance and bondage, that, O son of Pṛithā! is "good."

The intellect by which one understands right and wrong, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done but imperfectly (*e*), that, O son of Pṛithā! is of "passion."

That which regards right as wrong, being enveloped in darkness, and sees all things in an inverted form, that intellect, O son of Pṛithā! is "dark."

The constancy by which one controls the actions of the heart, the breath, and the senses,[2] with an unswerving devotion,[3] that, O son of Pṛithā! is "good."

But the constancy by which one holds to duty,[4] desires, and wealth, through attachment, desiring fruit, that is of "passion," O son of Pṛithā!

35 The stupid constancy by which one abandons not somnolence, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly, that, O son of Pṛithā! is "dark."

Hear now from me, O chief of Bharatas! the threefold kinds of pleasure. That which causes gladness by usage and brings an end to pain;

Which is as poison in the beginning, but is like nectar in the end; that is declared to be "good" pleasure, born from the serenity of one's own mind.

That which is like nectar in the beginning from the

[1] What ought to cause fear or not to cause it. Bondage is being confined in some form of matter, and deliverance is absorption into Brahma (*nirvāṇa*). Śankara explains *pravṛitti* (action) of objects that are attained by sacred books (*śāstras*).

[2] See chap. iv. 29.

[3] Śankara says by "the constant practice of pious meditation;" Śrīdhara says by "an inner withholding from the objects of sense."

[4] Even religious acts (*dharma*), if done with any feeling of desire, do not lead to *nirvāṇa:* they are "bad," as leading to new material conditions. See chap. xiv. 15.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

connection of sense-objects with the senses, but is as poison in the end, is held to be of "passion."

That pleasure which in the beginning and in the results is the bewilderment of the soul and springs from sleep, idleness, and stupidity, is called "dark."

40 There is nothing here in earth, nor yet among the gods in heaven, which is free from the three modes which are born of Nature (*Prakṛiti*).[1]

The offices (works) of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and of Śūdras, have been apportioned, O slayer of foes! from the modes that prevail in their separate natures.

The office (work) of a Brāhman, arising from his proper nature, is sedateness, self-restraint, religious austerities (*tapas*), purity, patience, rectitude, spiritual knowledge, learning, and (the rites of) faith (religion) (*f*).

The office of a Kshatriya, born of his proper nature, is heroism, energy, firmness, skill, resolution in battle, liberality, and a ruler's bearing.

The office of a Vaiśya, born of his proper nature, is agriculture, tending of cattle, and commerce. The essential office of a Śūdra, born of his proper nature, is servitude.

45 The man who is content with his own work, whatever it may be, attains to perfection. Learn now how the man attains perfection who is content with his own work.[2]

In giving honour, by his proper work, to Him who is the source of all things that exist and by whom this whole (universe) was spread out, a man obtains perfection.

Better is one's own work, though faulty, than another's

[1] See Introduction, p. 10.

[2] *Sansiddhi*, perfection, is explained by Śankara and Śrīdhara as implying aptitude for the state of knowledge, *i.e.*, spiritual knowledge, the knowledge of Brahma. See distich 50 infra.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

work well done. He who does the work imposed upon him by his own nature incurs no sin.

No one may abandon his natural work, even though evil,[1] O son of Kuntī! for every enterprise is surrounded by evil, as fire by smoke.

He whose mind is unattached, self-subdued in every part, in whom desire is dead, attains to the supreme perfection of freedom from all work by renunciation.[2]

50 Learn from me in brief, O son of Kuntī! how one who has obtained perfection attains to Brahma, the supreme seat of knowledge.

He who is devoted (*yukta*) by means of a purified mind, who has subdued himself by resolution, has renounced sound and other objects of sense, and has cast out desire and hatred;[3]

Who dwells in a lonely spot, eats but little, restrains speech, body, and heart (*manas*), is constantly intent on devotion by meditation, and has attained to freedom from passion;

Who is freed from self-conceit, violence, pride, lust, wrath, and all surroundings (*g*); who is without selfishness and is tranquil in mind,—he is formed to be one with Brahma.

Being one with Brahma,[4] calm in spirit, he neither mourns nor desires; being the same to all things, he attains to supreme devotion to Me.

[1] In the conflict of duties, our proper work, *i.e.*, the work assigned to us by caste, must be held as supreme.

[2] By rest from work may be meant work done without attachment, for such actions are not properly our own; they are wrought by the modes of Nature (*Prakṛiti*). See chap. iv. 19.

[3] See chap. iv. 26.

[4] To be one with Brahma means here to be united with him by a fixed concentration of the soul in devotion (see chap. vii. 29). It is to be "entirely fixed in Brahma" (Śrīdhara); "who has attained to Brahma" (Śankara).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

55 By (this) worship he knows Me truly; what I am and how great (I am); then, having known Me truly, he enters into Me immediately.

Though he may do all works constantly, yet having found refuge in Me, he obtains, by my grace, the eternal, imperishable seat.[1]

Renouncing all works in Me by meditation, devoted to Me, given up to the devotion of the mind (*h*), fix thy thoughts constantly on Me.

Thinking on Me, thou wilt surmount, by my grace, every difficulty; but if, from self-conceit, thou wilt not listen, thou wilt utterly perish.

If, taking refuge in self-conceit, thou shalt think, "I will not fight," thy resolution is vain; nature will compel thee.

60 Bound by thine office,[2] which springs from thy own nature, O son of Kuntī! that which thou dost not wish to do through delusion, thou wilt do even against thy will.

The Lord, who dwells in the hearts of all,[3] Arjuna! ever makes all things, as if mounted on a machine, revolve by his illusive power.

Seek refuge in him with all thy soul (*i*), O son of Bharata! (then) shalt thou obtain, by his grace, supreme repose, the eternal seat.

Thus a doctrine, more mysterious than any (other) mystery, has been declared to thee by Me; having meditated thereon fully, do as thou wilt.

[1] *i.e.*, the Supreme Brahma.

[2] By his duty as a Kshatriya (warrior), for which his nature had been formed.

[3] The heart is supposed to be the centre of all vital activity. In the opinion of the Hindūs it is especially the habitation of the soul, and therefore of Brahma, from whom it has emanated.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Hear now again my supreme words, most mysterious of all: Thou art greatly beloved by Me, therefore I will declare what is for thy good.

65 Devote thy heart to Me, worship Me, sacrifice to Me, bow down before Me; so shalt thou come to Me. I promise thee truly (for) thou art dear to Me.

Forsaking all religious duties (*j*) (*dharma*), come to Me as the only refuge. I will release thee from all thy sins;[1] grieve not.

This (doctrine) is not to be declared to him who practises not austere rites, or who never worships, or who wishes not to hear, nor to one who reviles Me.[2]

He who shall teach this supreme mystery to those who worship Me, he, offering to Me this highest (act of) worship, shall doubtless come to Me.

Nor is there any one among mankind who can do Me better service than he, nor shall any other on earth be more dear to Me than he.

70 And by him who shall read this holy converse held by us I may be sought through this sacrifice of knowledge. This is my decree.

[1] In the Sānkhya system, as taught by Kapila, the deliverance of the soul can only be obtained by knowledge. In the system of Patanjali, the soul, by pious meditation, emancipates itself. This divine agency in the deliverance of the soul is a doctrine peculiar to the Bhagavad Gītā.

[2] There is here probably a reference, as Mr. Thomson suggests, to the Śaivyas, who worship Śiva as the Supreme Being; for between them and the Vaishṇāvas, or worshippers of Vishṇu, as the Supreme, a strong rivalry has always existed. But they are not the only persons who would revile this doctrine. There were many who cared little for either Vishṇu or Śiva, for they desired only such physical enjoyments as this world offers. See chap. xvi. 8. This (doctrine) denotes the whole of the system unfolded in the Gītā.

By not practising austere rites is, according to Śrīdhara, to be "without the practice of religious duties" (*dharma*).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

And the man who may hear it in faith, without reviling, shall attain, when freed (from the body), to the happy regions of the just.

Has this been heard, O son of Prithā! with thy mind fixed on one (object)? Has thy trouble of mind, born of ignorance, been destroyed, O subduer of wealth?

ARJUNA *spoke.*

My trouble is destroyed. By thy favour, O sinless one! the holy doctrine has been received by me (*l*). I am now firm (in resolve); my doubt has gone, and I will act according to thy word.

SANJAYA *spoke.*

Thus I heard this wonderful converse of Vāsudeva and the high-minded son of Pṛithā, and my hair stood up on end.

75 By the favour of Vyāsa I heard this supreme mystery, (this doctrine of) *yoga*, taught by Kṛishṇa himself, the Lord of *yoga*, in person.

Remembering, O king! again and again this wonderful holy converse of Keśava (Kṛishṇa) and Arjuna, I rejoice without ceasing.

And remembering again and again that most wonderful form of Hari, my astonishment is great and I rejoice evermore.

Wherever are Kṛishṇa, the Lord of *yoga*, and the archer son of Prithā, there prosperity, victory, and greatness [1] are certain. Thus I judge.

[1] The first is interpreted by Śrīdhara as a royal prosperity, and the last (*bhūti*) as an increasing expansion (*abhivṛiddhi*) or greatness. Śankara's gloss agrees with this.

Thus the Bhagavad Gītā, Reading the Eighteenth, whose title is

"DEVOTION IN DELIVERANCE AND RENUNCIATION."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(*a*) *Yat karma . . . tyajet.* The construction is somewhat difficult, but not, as Mr. Thomson calls it, "ungrammatical." Lassen says, "Lenior foret orationis structura si scriptum esset, *ya karma*, sed habet lectio recepta quo se tueatur. Verbo in modo *potestativo* posito subintelligitur tum conjunctio conditionalis, tum pronomen indefinitum; si quis omittat opus quidpiam . . . is," &c. There seems to be only an indefinite pronoun to be supplied, and we may translate the passage, "Whatever work (one) may renounce."

(*b*) *Akuśalam karma.* Lassen translates the words by "minus prosperum opus." Śrīdhara explains *kuśala* to mean pleasant or causing pleasure, as a bath at mid-day in summer, and such-like things. Telang follows this explanation. In the Peters. Dict. the word is translated by "Sich in gutem Gustande, in der gehörigen ordnung befindend." Lassen's translation seems to be the true one.

(*c*) *Ahaitukam.* "Does not recognise the true cause (of existence), *i.e.*, final emancipation from matter" (Thomson); "qui principiis caret" (Lassen). Śrīdhara's comment is "not acknowledging creation, not devoted to truth, and not resting in the Supreme." *Hetu* means cause, and also reason, judgment. The meaning seems to be, as Lassen interprets the passage, that their knowledge or science is not based on reason, or any sound principle of judgment. "Science sans principes" (Burnouf).

(*d*) *Prakṛita.* "Vilis" (Lassen); "without discrimination, *i.e.*, adopting a common mode of action, not varying with the nature of the thing to be done" (Thomson); "who has no application" (Telang). The word means common, in the sense of vulgar, and thus Prakṛit is the name of a dialectic or vulgar form of Sanskrit.

(*e*) *Ayathāvat.* Lassen interprets the word by "incongrue;" Brunouf by "confusément;" Thomson, "by which one takes

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

a wrong view." Dr. Lorinser translates it by "nicht wie's geziemend ist," and this, I think, is the true meaning. *Yathāvat* corresponds to the French "comme il faut."

(*f*) *Ātmabuddhiprasādajam.* "E mentis ipsius serenitate nata" (Lassen, whom Thomson follows); "It flows from knowledge of the soul free from obscurity" (Telang), and this is the interpretation commonly given by Hindū commentators.

(*g*) *Āstikyam.* "Fides in rebus divinis" (Lassen); "belief in another world" (Thomson); "la connaissance des choses divines" (Burnouf). The word *asti* = Gr. ἐστι, and the derivative implies that something essentially or eternally exists, referring, according to Hindū commentators, to Brahma and a future world. The negative *nastika* is found in Manu (ii. 11), where it is said that if one shall despise revelation (*śruti*) and tradition (*smṛiti*), he must be cast out by the virtuous as a sceptic (*nastika*). Sir W. Jones translates the word "atheist." Lassen's version seems to be most correct, but Śrīdhara confines the expression to belief in another world. The belief, however, in another world would imply also other beliefs.

(*h*) *Parigraha.* Lassen translates this word by "fastus," Thomson by "avarice," Burnouf by "cortège." Telang has "all belongings." The word means whatever a man may gather round him, as attendants or possessions. The recluse must put away what is external to himself, that his soul may be devoted exclusively to pious meditation.

(*i*) *Buddhiyogam upaśritya.* "Mentis devotione fretus" (Lassen); "Practise devotion with the faculty of fixed resolution" (Telang); here, as elsewhere, translating *buddhi* by "resolve." This, I think, is a mistake, *buddhi* means intellect, intelligence, and also purpose, intention (absicht, vorsatz, Peters. Dict.), but not resolve in the sense of resoluteness. Moreover, the compound form will hardly bear this interpretation. The Hindū commentators, however, support it. Śrīdhara speaks of the application of the intellect, but

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

he adds, "In the practice of work there must be an offering to Brahma."

(*j*) *Sarvabhāvena.* The Hindū commentators explain this word to mean with all thy soul or self (*ātman* having both meanings). Madhusūdhana says, with the same impression, "by heart and voice and deed." Lassen's version is "omni reverentia;" Thomson's, "in every state of life," which is inadmissible. Burnouf has, I think correctly, "de toute ton âme."

(*k*) *Sarvadharmān parityajya.* "Cunctis religionibus dimissis" (Lassen). Telang has "forsaking all thy duties," *i.e.*, religious duties or offices chiefly. Here our author is in direct opposition to the Vedāntist system. The perfect Yogin abandons all external or bodily acts of worship for a pure worship of devout meditation. Burnouf and Lorinser add "other" to "duties," as if the injunction was for a Vishṇu cult alone; but there is no good ground for this addition. Śrīdhara says, "All these duties will be done in the worship (*bhakti*) of Me."

(*l*) *Smṛitir labdhā.* There is a wide difference in the translation of these words. The Hindū commentators explain them as meaning that he had regained his proper form, or, as we say, he had recovered himself. Telang translates them by "I recollect myself." *Smṛiti* means (1) memory, and (2) the system of doctrines received by tradition, as that which was handed down by memory from pious sages, in contrast with that which had been heard from the gods (*śruti*, revelation). Lassen's version is "recordatio est accepta a me." But I question whether *smṛiti* ever means self-possession, and Arjuna had not recovered his *memory*, for he had forgotten nothing. The meaning seems to be that he had received the holy doctrine which is expounded in the preceding chapters, and, accepting it, he was ready to do as Kṛishṇa desired, *i.e.*, to fight. Burnouf's version is "J'ai reçu la sainte tradition, and this interpretation Lorinser and Galanos accept.

Univ Calif. - Digitized by Microsoft ®

APPENDIX.

I.

On the Date at which the Bhagavad Gītā was probably Written, and on the Theory that it was Written under an Influence derived from a Knowledge of Christian Doctrines.

In a German translation of the poem by Dr. Lorinser, published at Breslau in 1869, it is maintained that the author of the Bhagavad Gītā must have been acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian faith, and that an influence was superimposed on his Brāhmanic training from this source. The evidence brought forward in support of this theory is chiefly an assumed or real resemblance of some passages in the poem to corresponding passages in the Christian sacred books. On the other hand, K. T. Telang, a Hindū advocate of Bombay, has prefixed a long dissertation on this subject to an English translation of the work, in which he controverts Dr. Lorinser's theory, and claims an antiquity for the Bhagavad Gītā extending so far back as the fourth century B.C., or even to an earlier date. If this could be proved, then Dr. Lorinser's theory is at once destroyed. Each of these writers has approached the subject under the influence of an evident bias, and each is disposed to attach more weight to his arguments or illustrations than they are able to bear.

It must be admitted, I think, that Dr. Lorinser finds re-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

semblances in passages that have little in common, or may be explained as representing thoughts or expressions that may be found in any cultured race; but K. T. Telang gains nothing in support of his theory by assuming that the Bhāgurī Tīkā, alluded to in Patanjali's Mahābhāshya, was very probably a commentary on a work of Bṛihaspati, who is assumed to be the founder of the Lokāyatika sect, probably referred to in chap. xvi., and that Patanjali's date may be taken to be prior to the beginning of the first century B.C. He admits that the argument is based, "in very great measure, not on ascertained facts, but on mere presumptions." From the absence of historical data in Hindū literature generally, we cannot determine with certainty when Bṛihaspati or Patanjali lived. Of the age of the former we have, I believe, no certain knowledge; for the latter, we can determine the limits, with high probability, within which his date may be fixed. Rām Kṛishṇa Bhandarkar says that "he probably wrote the third chapter of his Bhāshya (Commentary on Panini's Grammar) between 144 and 142 B.C." Professor Weber, however, assigns 25 A.C. as his probable date. It may be assumed, then, that he flourished some time between these dates; and when it is considered that the Yoga system attributed to him had been existent long enough to fall into a corrupt state on the part of some of its disciples,[1] and to become the basis of the new eclectic system maintained in the Bhagavad Gītā, it is evident that the latter work must have been composed at a much later time, probably some centuries later, than the date of Patanjali. We may compare this modification of the Yoga doctrines with the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian school, which arose fully four centuries after the great master

[1] It is even said in the Bhagavad Gītā (iv. 2) that the Yoga system (the meditative devotional system of Patanjali) had been "lost through length of time." It was probably revived in its proper form by the author of this book.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

had charmed the Athenians by his eloquent discourse. It would not be safe to assume that the course of thought was more rapid among the Hindūs fifteen hundred years ago than among the more lively and enterprising Greeks. This adaptation of the Yoga doctrines into a new system is a valid argument in favour of the opinion of Professors Weber and Lassen, that the Bhagavad Gītā was not written before the third century A.C.

K. T. Telang is not more successful in arguing that it was written before the time of Buddha because no mention is made in it of Buddha or his doctrines. Its purpose is to establish a school of philosophic religion, and for this end it modifies the teaching of the Sānkyha and Yoga systems, forming, with an infusion of a Vedāntist element, a new system, in which Buddhism could find no place. Nor was it necessarily so opposed to the doctrines of Buddha that an attack on the latter would seem unavoidable. It does, however, attack and denounce a certain class of men who reviled every form of religion—the Pyrrhonists of India, who denied the existence of any certain truth, and devoted themselves exclusively to the enjoyments of the present life. These men may not then have formed a distinct school, with teachers and an organisation such as we find at a later period, bearing the name of Lokāyatikas[1] or Worldlings, but they were numerous enough to attract attention and rebuke. It is certain that there was some free-thinking in India about the Vedas at an early period; but a school of free-thinkers, openly avowing such atheistic and materialist doctrines as those of Bṛihaspati and the denounced class in the Bhagavad Ghīta, does not appear until a comparatively late date. This class is described in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, but this work is certainly later than the sixth century A.C. :—"In a very short

[1] From Sans. *loka*, the present world, because they denied or ignored any other.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

time these Asuras (demoniac men, as in the Bhagavad Gītā), deluded by the deceiver, abandoned the entire system founded on the ordinances of the triple Veda. Some reviled the Vedas, others the gods, others the ceremonial of sacrifice, and others the Brāhmans. This (they said) is a doctrine that will not bear discussion. (To say that) oblations of butter consumed in the fire produce any future reward is the assertion of a child" (iii. 18).

It will seem strange to an impartial reader of the Bhagavad Gītā that K. T. Telang can say "that the way in which the Vedas are spoken of in more than one passage of the Gītā shows that the composition of the work must be referred to a time when no attack had as yet been made on their authority" (p. vi.), or that it is "the work of one who was himself thoroughly orthodox" (*id.*) The Vedas are not absolutely rejected by the author of the Gītā. They may have many uses for a prudent Brāhman (chap. ii. 46), but the perfect Yogin or devotee rises above all ritual worship by the practice of constant meditation (iv. 37). Works, *i.e.*, religious acts, may have some use as a means to attain to *yoga*, but when attained, the soul needs only repose (c. vi. 3). The Vedas are even sneered at as "flowery speech," which the ignorant, who are charmed by them, were wont to repeat, thinking in their ignorance that there is nothing but this (ii. 42). They are compared to the sacred fig-tree, "whose leaves are sacred (Vedic) hymns: he who knows it knows the Veda." This fig-tree must be cut down by the strong axe of indifference, *i.e.*, by the soul becoming indifferent to all outward things by inward devotion (xv. 1, 3). Devotion (*yoga*) is the true lustral water: he who is perfect in devotion finds spiritual knowledge in himself, and having obtained it, he enters into supreme repose (in *nirvāṇa*) without delay. The Yogin (devotee) o'erpasses the holy reward promised in the Vedas in sacrifices, in austerities, and in almsgiving, and attains the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

highest primeval seat (Brahma) (c. viii. 28). If this is the language of one who is thoroughly orthodox, then Western scholars must give up the ideas they have formerly held about Hindū orthodoxy. It seems that a man may be a true Vedāntist though he mocks the Vedas and would set them aside, or at least make them inferior to his own system in the obtaining of final deliverance. It might be said with equal truth that a man was an orthodox Christian who admitted that the Bible contained some good moral precepts, but who sneered at it as a whole, and wished it to be set aside for a system of pure thought, such as that of Mons. Comte or Herbert Spencer. S'ankara, who is held to be a high authority on Hindū orthodoxy, differs in opinion from K. T. Telang. In his commentary on the Brahma-sutras (ii. 1. 1), he speaks of the systems of Kapila and others. He lays down as a certain principle that the authority of the Vedas is supreme, and that therefore "it forms no objection to a doctrine that it sets aside a Smṛiti (a traditional doctrine) on a point which is contrary to the Veda" (Muir, S. T. iii. 185–190). The author of the Bhagavad Gītā and S'ankara are here opposed to each other, for the former did not admit such an authority as vested in the Vedas, and he set his own system far above the Vedic ritual in gaining for its devotee the final blessing of *nirvāṇa*.

If this writer has failed—and I think he has failed entirely—in his attempt to establish so early a date as the fourth century B.C. for the Bhagavad Gītā, he has been more successful in meeting the argument which Dr. Lorinser has advanced in support of his theory. The theory may be true, but the evidence which has been brought forward in its support is not sufficient. His argument is, that an examination of parallel passages in the Bhagavad Gītā and the New Testament shows that the former was written by one who had a knowledge of Christian doctrines, and must have been written therefore some considerable time after the beginning of the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Christian era. Dr. Lorinser has arranged the passages which he quotes in three divisions: (1) Those which vary in expression but agree in meaning; (2) Those in which a characteristic expression of the New Testament is found but with a different sense; (3) Those in which expression and meaning agree. It must be admitted that the passages compared in parts (1) and (2) do not establish Dr. Lorinser's proposition. There is no necessary, or even probable, borrowing from St. Paul's words, "The fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is; . . . if any man's be burned, he shall suffer loss" (1 Cor. iii. 13, 15), in the words of Kṛishṇa, "As a fire, when kindled, burns fuel into ashes, so the fire of knowledge burns work into ashes." The expressions are such as would naturally arise from the conditions of thought and purpose in the several writers without any contact of one with the other.

In the third class there are some passages which seem to favour Dr. Lorinser's theory, but the similarity is not such as to compel an absolute assent to the inference of a Christian origin for the Hindū ideas. They are mainly these:—

Bhagavad Gītā.	*New Testament.*
I am exceedingly dear to the wise man; he also is dear to me (vii. 17).	He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him (John xiv. 21).
I am the way, supporter, lord, witness, abode, refuge, friend (ix. 18).	I am the way, the truth, and the life (John xiv. 6). I am the first and the last (Rev. i. 17).
I never depart from him (the true Yogin), he never departs from me (vi. 30).	He dwelleth in me and I in him (John vi. 57).
They who worship me with true devotion (*bhaktyā*) are in me and I in them (vi. 29).	I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one (John xvii. 23).
Be assured that he who worships me perishes not (ix. 31).	He that believeth in me shall never perish, but shall have eternal life (John iii. 5).
I am the beginning and the middle and the end of existent things (x. 20).	I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending (Rev. i. 8).

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Bhagavad Gītā.	*New Testament.*
I will deliver thee from all sin: do not grieve (xviii. 66).	Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee (Matt. ix. 2).
He who knows me as unborn and without beginning, the mighty Lord of the world, he among mortals is undeluded, he is delivered from all sins (x. 3).	This is the life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent (John xvii. 3).
What sacrifice, almsgiving, or austerity is done without faith is evil (*asat*) (xvii. 28).	Whatsoever is not of faith is sin (Rom. xiv. 23).
That man obtains the perfect state who honours by his proper work him from whom all things have issued, and by whom this All was spread out (xviii. 46).	Whatsoever therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God (1 Cor. x. 31).

These coincidences of thought and expression, though not decisive of the question, naturally draw attention to the subject. They will be estimated differently by different minds, according to their knowledge of Hindū literature and the modes of thought and expression used by other writers on religious subjects, whether within or without the Christian pale. The author was a Brāhman, and he retained a degree of respect, or rather of toleration, for the Vedic doctrines and ritual, but he subordinates them entirely to the duty and happiness of pious meditation. They were of no efficacy to the perfect Yogin. In man's highest state, even in this world, they are left behind as inferior things. It is not necessary to discuss the question whether there was a translation of the New Testament into the native language or languages of India before the third century A.C. Assuming, for the present, that the Christian doctrine was preached there and Christian communities formed before that time, some knowledge of both would spread among, at least, the cultured classes, and insensibly mould the existing form of Hindū thought. This has been the result in our own time. Many Hindūs, especially of the educated class, have heard of the Christian faith; and

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

though some have never read the New Testament or any Christian book, yet the knowledge of Christianity which has been obtained from other sources has permeated the whole of this class, and has affected the whole atmosphere of Hindū thought on religious subjects. It may be certainly affirmed that if any one, after reading the Purāṇas or other popular religious books of the Hindūs, should then turn for the first time to the study of the Bhagavad Gītā, he must be conscious of having come to a new country where nearly everything is changed. The thoughts, the sentiments, and the methods of expression have another stamp. He feels that he has come to a higher region, where the air is much more pure and invigorating, and where the prospect has a wider range. He has come from a system which gives honour to gods who are stained by cruelty and lust to a spiritual system which recognises only one God, who, if not set forth in such terms as a Christian would utter, is yet a spiritual being, the source and maintainer of all life, and is to be worshipped with a purely spiritual worship. How did he rise to this higher state? Certainly not by the common Hindū teaching or practice, nor yet from the Yoga-sutras, for in the forms of thought or expression in which he seems to come near to the Christian system he has not drawn from this source. Dr. Muir, who is opposed to Dr. Lorinser's theory, remarks that we meet in the Rig-Veda with "a variety of expressions in which the worshipper's trust in, and regard for, the god Indra are indicated: his friendship and guidance are said to be sweet: he is spoken of as a father and the most fatherly of fathers, and as being both a father and a mother: he is the helper of the poor, and has a love for mortals." But Indra is not represented as the only God or as a spiritual Essence. Earthly blessings, such as abundant harvests, children, or victory over foes, are sought for by prayer and sacrifice; but Indra himself is not sought for as the chief good, nor do his worshippers

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

approach him in a spiritual communion or fellowship. The natural course of all systems of idolatry has been to a lower state. In India the popular worship has descended even to the foul worship of Kālī, the wife of the god Śiva, who is represented as "having a black skin, a hideous countenance dripping with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads, and in all respects resembling a fury rather than a goddess." Thuggism or organised murder was the natural result of such a form of religion. But the author of the Bhagavad Gītā rose above any form of the Hindū mythology of which we have any knowledge, and if this higher state was not due to some contact with a more spiritual system of belief, he must be regarded as one of those who by virtue of a higher nature have risen far above their contemporaries in the conception of spiritual truths. We cannot at present attain to absolute certainty on this subject, but the weight of probability lies, I think, on the supposition that he was affected, though imperfectly and obscurely, by the influence of a purer system than that which then prevailed in his native country.

As this evidence is not decisive, we may turn again to the work itself to see if it contains other indications of the time when it was written. There are some indications of this kind, and these are: (1) The Kṛishṇa cult; (2) The similarity of its mythological forms with those of the Purāṇas; and (3) The style or language of the poem.

The evidence in favour of the late date of the Kṛishṇa cult, in its full development, has been accepted by all European scholars as decisive, though Mr. Thomson affirmed too much in saying that "Kṛishṇa cannot be said to belong to the Epic age, but almost exclusively to the Purāṇic." K. T. Telang very justly objects to the question being decided by mere authority, though it may be as high as that of Professors Weber or Lassen. The opinions of Hindū scholars in questions of their own

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

literature are worthy of a careful attention, but they too need to be reminded that the question is one of fact. When we are told by K. T. Telang, as a proof of the early date of the Kṛishṇa cult, that Kālidāsa speaks of "Vishṇu in the form of a cowherd" (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa), he is attempting to prove *ignotum per ignotius*. We do not know at what time Kālidāsa lived. He was one of the "nine gems" of the court of King Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī. The late Professor Wilson supposed that this was the king of that name whose era begins in the year 57 B.C., but Dr. Bhāu Dājī has attempted to prove that the king referred to was Harsha Vikramāditya, who lived in the middle of the sixth century A.C. This, I think, is the more probable opinion, but it has not been fully proved. K. T. Telang would assign his period to "two or three centuries before the sixth century A.C." Even if this earlier date could be proved, the rejection of such a date for the Gītā as the fourth century B.C. would follow at once; for it may be affirmed, from the mythological forms and the language of Kālidāsa's finest work, the Sakuntalā, that the time between this work and the Gītā cannot have been great. It has been urged in favour of the early development of the Kṛishṇa worship that he appears as a god in other parts of the Mahābhārata; but certainly not as the Supreme Being, for he offers worship to Mahādeva (Śiva) as the Supreme God. In the book called "Droṇa-parvan," Kṛishṇa and Arjuna recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva as "the soul of all things, the creator of all, and the pervader of all." It is also said in the same book that "the righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), together with the son of Pṛithā (Arjuna), bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, . . . the Supreme Brahma." It is added that "Kṛishṇa reverenced him (Brahma) with voice, heart (*manas*), mind (*buddhi*), and action."[1] But

[1] Muir iv. 185. The word is *vavande* from *vand*, (1) to bow down in worship, and (2) to praise, to celebrate. In another book of the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

his rank as a deity of any degree was not accepted by all. In the Sabhā-parvan, Śiśupāla denies his right to such a claim, charging him as a transgressor of the sacred law (*smṛiti*), saying that he was inferior, for this and other reasons, to other chiefs present, and that he was not even a king, his father, Vasudeva, being still alive.[1] Bhīshma then defends the claim of Kṛishṇa to this honour, but Śiśupāla evidently represents the judgment of some contemporaneous class on the subject. The Vaishṇavas promoted his claim, but it was affirmed by many that he was only a man; for in the Bhīshma-parvan it is said, "Whoever says that he (Kṛishṇa) was a mere man is of dull intellect (*manda-dhīḥ*)."[2] If in some few passages he is represented as being the origin of all things, these are so contrary to the general tone of the poem on this subject, that, with Dr. Muir, we are compelled to assume that they are late interpolations.[3] It is not until we come to the Purāṇas that he appears as the Supreme Deity beyond all doubt or cavil, and the earliest of these books, the Vayu Purāṇa, has, by general consent, no higher antiquity than the sixth century A.C.

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which is devoted to the honour of Bhagavat (Kṛishṇa), it is said: "When a man hears this (work), devotion to Kṛishṇa the Supreme Purusha (Spirit) is produced, destroying grief, delusion, and fear." In the Bhagavad Gītā he is called the Supreme Brahma (*param Brahma*), and the Rishis name him Eternal Spirit (*purusham śāswatam*) (x. 12). The devotion offered to Kṛishṇa is also denoted by the same word, *bhakti*, in both. This word is also found in

Mahābhārata (the Śanti-parvan) the worship of Mahādeva is explained as being offered only as an example to others, and that really it was offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations (Muir iv. 185 *n.*); but this must have been a late interpolation. In this great epic Kṛishṇa appears mainly as a deified hero.

[1] Muir 206.

[2] Ibid. 236.

[3] Ibid. 208 *n.*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the Nalopākhyānam, or story of Nala, but the Kṛishṇa division of the Vaishṇavas gave to it a deeper meaning. With them it denoted an implicit faith, with incessant devotion and love. The Chaitanyas, who worship Kṛishṇa as the Paramātman (Supreme Spirit),[1] assign to it five degrees: (1) *Sānta*, repose or quietism; (2) *Dāsya*, service; (3) *Sākya*, personal regard or friendship; (4) *Bātsalya*, tender affection, as of a parent for children; and (5) *Mādhūrya*, passionate attachment.

In the Brahma Purāṇa, also, Kṛishṇa is declared to be the Supreme Spirit (*paramātman*), and to be the source of all things, as in the Gītā. He gave origin to a female form, his *śaktī* or energy, endowed with the three *guṇas* (the elements of Prakṛiti or Nature), which form the whole material creation. In the Gītā, Prakṛiti is the lower nature of the Supreme Being (Kṛishṇa), and this he sends forth in the creation of gods and men. Hence he is called both the father and mother of the world (ix. 17), and the origin of all things (xiv. 3).[2]

The same subject is discussed in the Pātāla section of the Padma Purāṇa and the sixth part of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. In fact, it is impossible to read the Bhagavad Gītā and the Purāṇas without feeling that we are treading upon the same ground. The Kṛishṇa cult was probably developed in its highest form before the earliest of the Purāṇas was written, but it would be unreasonable to suppose that it had existed as a popular worship more than two or three centuries before it entered into the literature of the country.

We are also brought near to the Purāṇic age as the date of the Bhagavad Gītā by the fact that all the mythological signs and attendants of the gods are found in it. They are referred to only as instances of the glory of the one Supreme Being, but they existed at the time as parts of the fully de-

[1] Prof. Wilson's Rel. Sects of theHindūs, p. 100.
[2] Ibid. p. 76.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

veloped mythological system. The horse Uchchaiḥ-śravas, the white horse of Indra, produced at the churning of the ocean, when gods and Daityas whirled the serpent Vāsuki round the mountain Mandara in the sea of milk, and the *amṛita* (the nectar of immortality) was won; the Makara, the monster fish on which Varuṇa rides upon the ocean, and which Kāma, the Hindū Cupid, bears on his banner; Airāvata, the elephant on which Indra rides, and which guards the eastern quarter of the sky; Vainateya, the bird which carries the god Vishṇu, formerly called Garuḍa, but named, according to the Purāṇas, from his mother, Vinatā, a daughter of Daksha,—all are recorded and must have been well known among all classes. Varuṇa, who in the story of Nala is the god of the sea, is only the chief of aquatic animals in the Gītā (x. 29).[1]

The worship of Bhūtas, too, was then common. These are malignant spirits which haunt churchyards and eat human flesh. They are described in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and are said to have been created when Brahmā was angry. In the Vayu Purāṇa it is said that their mother was Krodhā (Anger).

The preference is given to the Sāma-Veda over the others, not because it is the most important, but from its use by the priests in chanting at the sacrificial rites (x. 22). The preference given to the Sāma-Veda is not an absolute indication of time, but it shows that the chanting of hymns on the occasion of a sacrifice by Brāhmans was fully established when the Gītā was written. In Manu the Sāma-Veda is said to have the *pitṛis* (ancestral manes) for its object, and therefore "its sound is impure;" but the commentator, Kullūka, states that the Sāma-Veda was not really impure; it only seems to be so.[2] The time when Kullūka lived is not known, but it

[1] In the Atharva-Veda Varuṇa is addressed as "Lord of all, both of heaven and earth," and from him the forgiveness of sins is prayed for. (Müller's Sanskrit Lit., pp. 534, 541.)

[2] Muir, S. T., iii. 26.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

may be assumed to be some centuries after the beginning of the Christian era.

The argument may be extended to the words used in the Gītā. *Kalpa*, in the sense of a definite number of ages, is a Purāṇic word. It is not found in any of the Brāhmaṇas. *Manwantara*, as Manu-period; *Dwandwa*, as a pair of opposites; *Bhāshā*, as a mark or sign (used in this sense in the Bhāg. Purāṇa); *Yoga* and *Vibhuti*, as denoting supernatural power; and *Māyā*, in the sense of an illusive external world, all belong to a late period.

The question of date cannot be settled with absolute certainty, but all the evidence we have points to a time not earlier than the third century A.C.

If we may assume this as the proximate date of the Bhagavad Gītā, the question arises whether we have evidence of the Christian faith having been preached in India before that time. In answer to this question we may note: (1.) That the intercourse between India and the principal cities of Africa and Europe, even before the beginning of the Christian era, was very great; and (2.) That we have direct evidence of the preaching of the Christian faith there before the third century A.C.

(1.) From the time of Alexander's conquest of the North of India there was a constant intercourse between Greeks and Hindūs. Even in the time of Chandragupta gold coins were struck, according to Mr. Prinsep, which were undoubtedly in weight and design of Grecian origin.[1] At a later period, coins of Hindū kings have been found with Greek inscriptions on one side and Sanskrit on the other. It was quite possible, therefore, for Pāṇini, who mentions the *Yavanānī* (*lipi*) (the Greek writing), to be familiar at least with the Greek alphabet.[2]

Such was the fame of Augustus, and so well known was

[1] Max Müller's Sanskrit Lit., p. 245 *n.* [2] Ibid. p. 520.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the route to Europe, that he received at Samos an embassy from India, to which Horace seems to refer[1] with national pride. Florus states that the ambassadors brought as presents elephants, pearls, and precious stones. There was a second embassy from India sent to the Emperor Claudius, of which Pliny gives an account. He received from the ambassadors, who were four in number, the information about Ceylon which he has embodied in his "Natural History."[2] Two other embassies from Hindū princes to Rome were sent before the third century A.C.—one to Trajan (107 A.C.) and another to Antoninus Pius. They continued as late as the time of Justinian (530 A.C.)

But apart from this occasional intercourse, a constant trade was carried on between Alexandria and Western India.[3] There was also an overland trade through Palmyra. Ptolemy (138 A.C.) met some Hindūs at Alexandria, and received information of a large inland sea, which he calls Hippados, probably, as Wilford suggests, the Sans. *abdhi*, a general term for the sea.[4] This commerce seems to have been at its height in the reign of Commodus, for a vessel was found in the last century among the ruins of a Hindū temple near Vellore, containing gold denarii of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Some had been perforated and worn as ornaments, according to the custom of Hindū women, but others had apparently been used in the ordinary course of commerce.[5]

[1] Bk. iv. 14; bk. i. 12.

[2] Nat. Hist., vi. 24.

[3] "We are assured on undisputed authority that the Romans remitted annually to India a sum equivalent to £400,000 to pay for their investments, and that in the reign of the Ptolemies 125 sail of Indian shipping were at one time lying in the ports of Mysus, Hormus, and Berenice, the ports whence Egypt, Syria, and Rome itself were supplied with the products of India."—"Life in Western India" (Guthrie), from Tod's "Western India," p. 221.

[4] Asiat. Researches, iii. 53.

[5] Asiat. Researches, ii. 332. In 1842 an earthen pot containing 522 Roman denarii was dug up at Vellalūr, near Koimbatūr. They were chiefly coins of Augustus and Tiberius, with some of Caligula and

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

There was ample knowledge at this time, probably through the channels of trade, of the religious systems of India. Clemens Alexandrinus (192–217 A.C.) mentions Brāhmans and Buddhists. He describes the monastic life of the latter, and mentions some doctrines and usages of the former.[1] He obtained his information from some Hindūs who resided in Alexandria, and Dion Cassius states that Hindūs were often found there. At that time Philostratus and Ælian wrote about India, and Bardasanes, as we learn from the extracts preserved by Porphyry, published his "Indica," for which he obtained materials from one Dandaas or Sandamines, whom he met at Babylon in the reign of Elogabalus. He gives a full account of Brāhmanic customs, and speaks of ascetics who forsook their wives and children to devote themselves to the study of divine things.[2]

We have evidence of the fact that the traders to India brought back a knowledge of its religious systems in the history of Scythianus. He was a cotemporary of the Apostles, and was engaged as a merchant in the Indian trade. In the course of his traffic he often visited India, and made himself acquainted with Hindū philosophy. Having amassed a considerable fortune, he settled at length in Alexandria, and here, according to Epiphanius and Cyril, he wrote a book in four parts, which they affirm to be the source from which the Manichæan doctrines were derived. Whether this be true or not, it is evident that Hindū ideas were brought to Europe by some who traded with India. This name is sometimes

Claudius. In 1856 sixty-three gold coins of the early Roman emperors were found near the boundary of the Madura and Koimbatūr districts. (Indian Antiquary, August 1876.)

[1] Strom I. xv. iii. 7. Journ. As. Soc. xix. 277.

[2] Journ. Asiat. Soc. xix. 280. In the time of Dionysius Periegetes (probably about the end of the third century A.C.) the river Ganges was well known, and was frequented by Western traders. He had not reached it himself, but many others had done so.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην
ἔρχομαι, οἷα τε πολλοί.—709 v.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

given to Southern Arabia, but the Hindū philosophy could have been brought only from India proper.[1]

If a knowledge of Hindū systems was brought to Europe by traders, we might reasonably infer that Christian traders carried the doctrines of their faith to India. But we have positive evidence that a knowledge of Christianity existed there before the third century A.C., whether by this channel or otherwise. Syrian merchants laid the foundation from which the settlements of the St. Thomé Christians arose, and it was probably from them that a request was made, as St. Jerome asserts,[2] to Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, that he would send out a Christian teacher to India. He sent Pantænus, who went forth, according to the same authority, to instruct the Brāhmans. It has been assumed that the St. Thomé Christians were Nestorians who fled from Syria when this sect was persecuted by Theodosius II.; but Nestorius was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (A.C. 431), and we learn from St. Jerome (born 340 A.C.) that St. Thomas, the apostle of India, was famous in his time.[3] Maffei and Orosius state that when Don Alfonso Souza was the Viceroy of John III., King of Portugal, the St. Thomé Christians brought before him some ancient brass tablets, containing a record of a grant of land made to their founder by the king who reigned there at that time, and an inscription preserved in St. Thomas's Church at Malipur which recorded the fact that he came to India during the reign of King Sagamo.[4] In a list of kings inserted in the "Journal of the London Asiatic Society," a king named Sangha appears, who reigned from 150 to 168 A.C.[5] This

[1] Jr. Asiat. Soc. xx. 269. Though apparently of Scythian descent, he was born in Palestine. He is said to have been well acquainted with the Greek language and literature.

[2] De Scrip. Illust. c. 36, and Epis. 83.

[3] Epis. ad Marcellum.

[4] Cave's Lives of the Apostles, p. 187. He refers to Maff., Hist. Indica, lib. 2, p. 85, and to Osorius, De Rebus Emman., lib. 3, p. 120.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 122, New Series.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

name seems to be a variation of Saghana, which in the Pali, or common speech, would be pronounced Saghano. No other name appears in the list approaching this form. Unfortunately the fierce Portuguese bigot, Archbishop De Menezes, destroyed all the records of these Churches, and we must rely on the reports of Maffei and Orosius concerning these documents.

In the third and fourth centuries A.C. the Christian communities in India were numerous. Mr. Priaulx observes that "of Eastern travellers in the fourth or fifth centuries many were priests, as we may surmise from the number of Christian Churches in India."[1] In the sixth century Cosmas Indicopheustes wrote of India, and from him we learn that there was a Christian church even in Ceylon: there was a bishop's see at Calliena, and probably many others. He was accompanied on one occasion by Thomas of Edessa, afterwards Metropolitan of Persia, and Patricius, a monk, whose journeys were on behalf of the Christian population. The cause of Christianity declined in India after the sixth century; but in the third and fourth centuries the Christians in India seem to have borne as large a proportion to the whole of the Hindū population as in the present century. We may reasonably assume that the New Testament was translated into their vernacular tongue, though probably not in any authorised version, and that therefore St. Chrysostom was justified in saying that "the Syrians, and the Egyptians, and the *Indians*, and the Persians, and the Ethiopians, and countless other nations, having the doctrines promulgated by him (St. John) translated into their own languages, have learned, though barbarians, to philosophise."[2]

Professor Weber maintains that in another part of the Mahābhārata (xii. 12, 776 ff.) there is a reference to Christian

[1] Journ. Asiat. Soc. xx. 297.
[2] Hom. on St. John's Gospel, i. c. 1.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

doctrines and usages. The passage referred to is certainly coloured by the glow of an Oriental imagination, but it seems to have a groundwork of fact. It relates the voyage of three pilgrims, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, to the Svetādwīpa (White Country). Its inhabitants are said to be worshippers of the Divine Unity: "Go there, O Munis; there my true nature is revealed;" and the narrative proceeds: "At the end of the time we beheld glistering men, white, appearing like the moon, adorned with all auspicious marks, with their palms ever joined in supplication, praying to the Supreme Being with their faces turned to the east: the prayer which is offered by these great-hearted men is called the mental prayer." They heard a loud sound of those "who were offering an oblation to the god," but they did not see him. "We only heard a loud cry uttered, 'Thou art victorious, O lotus-eyed one. Hail to thee, O Creator of the universe! Hail to thee, the eldest son of the Supreme Soul!' Such was the sound heard by us, accompanied by teaching. In the meanwhile a pure wind, laden with all perfumes, brought heavenly flowers and healing drugs." The reference to the Son of God and the act of worshipping towards the east are significant. The writer of an article in the "Calcutta Review" (January 1876) says: "It is scarcely too daring a conjecture to suppose that the passage contains a description of the effect produced upon some Indian pilgrims by witnessing a Christian service. The burning of incense and the celebration of the Eucharist are sufficiently clearly indicated."

Professor Weber also maintains that the Kṛishṇa legend, in its latest development, was affected by the knowledge of the facts recorded in the Gospels. He refers to the statements of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, that "Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, went with his pregnant wife, Yashodā, to Mathura to pay taxes at the time when Kṛishṇa was born;" that he is represented as lying in the cow-stall, which corresponds to

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the manger, and that shepherds and shepherdesses stood around him. A fiery meteor also appeared at his birth,[1] and Kansa, the king of the country, was informed by the prophet Nārada that this child would kill him and overthrow his kingdom, and in consequence he ordered all the male children of the country to be put to death. Prof. Weber refers also to the wonderful deeds of the child, the healing virtue of the water in which he was washed, to the account given in the Jaimini Bhārata of his raising to life the dead son of Duhsālā, of the cure of Kubjā and of her pouring a vessel of ointment over him, of the power of his look to take away sin, and other statements of the same kind as being of Christian origin. He also maintains that "the later exclusively monotheistic direction of the Indian sects, who honour a personal god, pray for his grace, and believe in him, has been influenced by the acquaintance which the Indians had with the corresponding doctrines of Christianity."[2] The assumption that in all these respects the Christian writers borrowed from the Kṛishṇa legend and Hindū religious works does not need a reply. There is no ground whatever for such an assertion or supposition. The writers of the Christian Gospels certainly knew nothing of Hindū myths or the Kṛishṇa legend.

We cannot attain to perfect certainty on the questions which have been here discussed, but all the evidence we have is in favour of the following propositions: (1) That some Hindū writings were affected, after the second or third century A.C., by the Christian faith and ritual; (2) that the doctrines of the Christian faith had been preached and Christian communities formed in India during those centuries; and (3) that the Bhagavad Gītā cannot probably be referred to an earlier period than the third century A.C. From a long study of the work, I infer that its author lived at or near the time of Kālidāsa, who is supposed by Professor Lassen to have

[1] Asiat. Res. v. 276. [2] Calcutta Review, January 1876.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

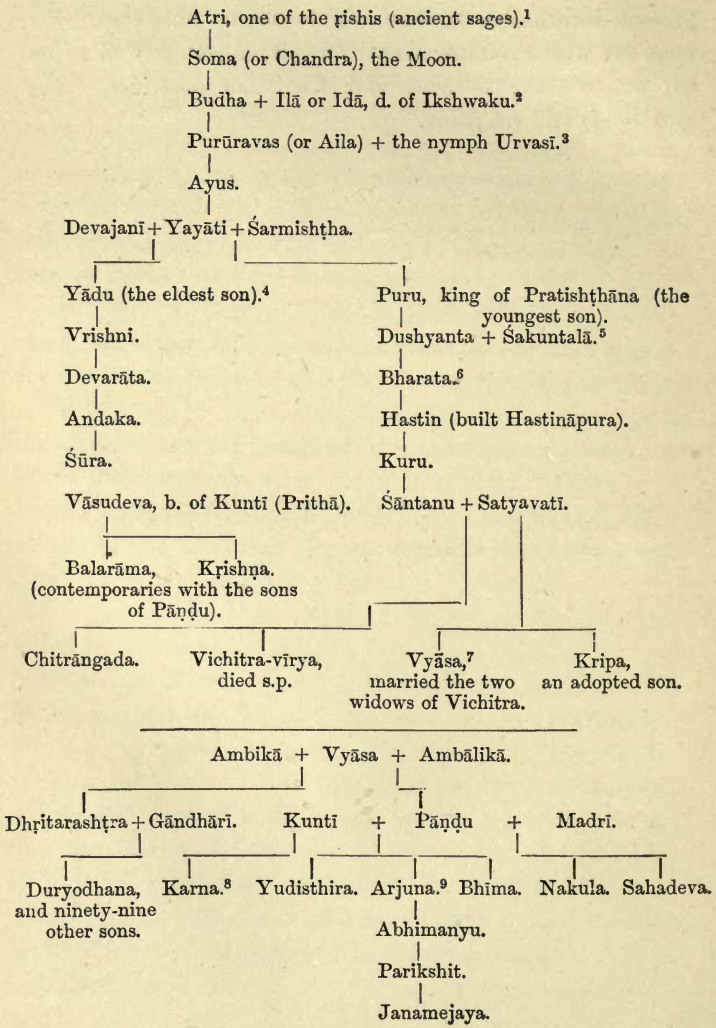
LIBRARY OF TH UNIVERSITY OF CALIFOR

lived about the middle of the third century after Christ. Formerly he was assigned to the first half of the century before Christ, but this opinion is not now generally maintained. We require more evidence on the subject than we have at present before the question can be finally answered. We must say with Professor Weber on this subject, as well as on our author's acquaintance with Christian doctrines, "the question is still *sub judice*."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

II.

The Traditionary Line of Descent of the Lunar Dynasty.



Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

The line down to S'āntanu has many omissions. The full line is given in Professor Dowson's "Classical Dictionary of Hindū Mythology," s.v. Chandra-vanśa. Bhīshma was a son of S'āntanu by a former wife, the goddess Gangā, whence he is sometimes called *Gāngeya*. Another name, *Śātanava*, is from his father, S'āntanu.

[1] They are usually numbered as seven, and are represented by the seven stars of the Great Bear (Ursa Major). The hymns of the Vedas were revealed to them.

[2] Son of the Manu Vaivasvat, who was the son of Vivaswat, the Sun. Founder of the Solar dynasty.

[3] A celestial nymph mentioned in the Rig-Veda. The loves of Purūravas and Urvasī are the subject of the Vikramorvasī, a drama by Kālidāsa.

[4] From Yadu, Kṛishṇa is called Yādava, as being a descendant.

[5] The heroine of Kālidāsa's drama of that name.

[6] From him India is sometimes called Bhārata-varsha, the kingdom of Bharata.

[7] Vyāsa was the son of Satyavatī, but not of Śāntanu. His father was the sage Parāśara: he was therefore the half-brother of Vichitravīrya.

[8] Karna was the son of Kuntī, also called Prithā, by Surya, the Sun, before her marriage with Pāṇḍu.

[9] Arjuna visited Kṛishṇa at Dwārakā, and there he married Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛishṇa. Abhimanyu was her son from this marriage. He was killed in the great contest of the rival princes, but the kingdom of Hastināpura descended to his son Parikshit. The city of Hastināpura was about fifty-seven miles N.E. of Delhi, on the banks of an old bed of the Ganges. It is now in ruins.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

III.

Collation of Two MSS. in my Possession with the Bonn Edition of the Bhagavad Gītā, and the Readings of other Editions and MSS.

The MS. marked *a* is a well-written copy, with gold borders on each page, and seventeen miniature paintings illustrating the work. It is dated Samvat, 1869 (A.D. 1812). The other MS., marked *b*, is a small copy, 5 in. by 3, evidently intended for popular use. It is dated Samvat, 1811 (A.D. 1754).

Calc. B.G., Calcutta ed. of Bhagavad Gītā; Calc. M., Calcutta ed. of Mahābhārata; P.C., Paris Codex; L.C., London do.

Bonn Edition.	*MSS. a and b.*	*Other Readings.*
c. i. d. 8. saumadattistathaiva	saumadattastathaiva, *a* saumadattistathaiva, *b*	saumadattirjayadrathaḥ, Calc. M.
c. i. d. 37. sabāndhavān	swabāndhavān, *a* and *b*	swabāndhavān, Calc. B.G. and 5 L. codices
c. iii. d. 12. apradāya	*a* and *b*, id.	na pradāya, Calc. B.G.
c. iii. d. 23. varteya	varteyam, *a* and *b*	varteyam, Calc. B.G., Calc. M., L. MSS.
c. iii. d. 28. vartanta	*a* and *b*, id.	vartante, Codd. (Lassen)
c. iii. d. 39. dushpūreṇa	dushpūreṇa, *a* du(h)pūreṇa, *b*	du(h)pūreṇa, Calc. B.G.
c. iv. d. 23. muktasya	*a* and *b*, id.	yuktasya (Thomson, as an emendation).
c. v. d. 26. yatīnām	*a* and *b*, id.	yatinām, Calc. B.G.
c. v. d. 21. yaṭ sukham	*a* and *b*, id.	ya(h)sukham (Thomson)
c. vi. d. 39. etam me	etanme, *a* and *b*	etanme, Calc. B.G., Calc. M.
c. vii. d. 23. chetasām	medhasām, *a* and *b*	medhasām, Calc. M. and scholiasts.
c. vii d. 29. jarāmaraṇa	*a* and *b*, id.	janmamaraṇa (Thomson)
c. viii. d. 8. chetasānanyagāminā. P. Codd. (Lassen)	chetasānanyagāminā, *a* chetasānānyagāminā, *b*	chetasānānyagāminā, Calc. M., 4 L. Codd.
c. viii. d. 10.	*a* and *b* have the same syllable in excess that is found in other MSS.	
c. ix. d. 7. māmakīm	māmikām, *a* and *b*	māmikām, P. Codd. B.D., 5 L. Codd., Calc. M.
c. ix. d. 10. mayādhyaksheṇa	*a* and *b*, id.	mayadhyakshyeṇa, Calc. B.G.
c. ix. d. 21. evam trayīdharmam	*a* and *b*, id.	evam hi traidharmyam, Madhusudana
c. ix. d. 33. bhaktā (P. Codd. B.C. 5 L. Codd.)	*a* and *b*, id.	bhaktyā, Calc. B.G., P. Codd. D., Berlin MS.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Bonn Edition.	*MSS. a and b.*	*Other Readings.*
c. x. d. 41. ūrjitam	ūrjitam, *a* ūrjjitam, *b*	varjitam, Calc. B.G.
c. x. d. 42. jnānena	*a* and *b*, id.	jnātena, Calc. B.G.
c. xi. d. 2. bhavavyayan	bhavāpyayan, *a* and *b*	bhavāpyayan, Calc. M., and both scholiasts.
c. xi. d. 7. ihaikastham jagat	*a* and *b*, id.	ihaikam yajjagat, Calc. B.G.
c. xi. d. 8. śakshyase	sakyase, *a* and *b*	sakyase (libri omnes L.)
c. xi. d. 11. dīptam	devam, *a* and *b*	devam (omnes Codd.)
c. xi. d. 12. bhāh	bhāh, *a* and *b*	bhā (Lassen, 1st ed.)
c. xi. d. 16. viśwarupa	viśwarupam, *a* and *b*	viśwarupam, Calc. M., Calc. B.G.
c. xi. d. 28. abhivijvalanti	*a* and *b*, id.	abhitoḥ valanti (Śrīdhara)
c. xi. d. 41. tavemam	tavedam, *a* and *b*	tavedam, Calc. M., 3 L. Codd.
c. xi. d. 43. gurōr	gurur, *a* and *b*	gurur, Calc. B.G. and M.
c. xii. d. 20. dharmyāmṛitam	dharmyāmṛitam, *a* dharmmāmritam, *b*	dharmāmritam (Madhusūdana)
c. xiii.	*a* and *b* have the distich mentioned by Lassen	
c. xiii. d. 1. kshetrajnamiti	kshetrajnamiti, *a* kshetrajna iti, *b*	kshetrajna iti, P. Codd. C. and D.
c. xiii. d. 17. dhishtitam	*a* and *b*, id.	nishtitam (1st ed. L.)
c. xiv. d. 23. avatishtati	*a* and *b*, id.	anutishtati (Madhusūdana)
c. xiv. d. 23. nengate	*a* and *b*, id.	nengati (Śrīdhara)
c. xv. d. 3. tathopalabhyate	*a* and *b*, id.	upalabhyam (1st ed. Las.)
c. xv. d. 7. manaḥshashṭhāni	manaḥshashṭāni, *a* and *b*	manaḥshashṭāni, alii Codd. (Lassen)
c. xv. d. 13. choshadīḥ	chaushadīḥ, *a* and *b*	chaushadiḥ, Calc. M. and Madhusūdana
c. xvi. d. 2. alolatwam	alolutwam, *a* and *b*	alolutwam, Calc. B.G. and scholiasts
c. xvi. d. 3. nātimānitā	*a* and *b*, id.	nābhimānitā, Cod. Gotting. (Lassen)
c. xvi. d. 4. abhimānaścha	*a* and *b*, id.	atimānascha (Madhusūdana)
c. xvi. d. 11. upāśritāḥ	*a* and *b*, id.	apāśritaḥ (Madhusūdana)
c. xvi. d. 13. labdhamimam	labdhamidam, *a* labdhamimam, *b*	labdhamidam, P. Cod. C. labdhvam, Calc. B.G.
c. xvii. d. 2. tām	*a* and *b*, id.	tāḥ, Cod. Gotting. (Lassen)
c. xvii. d. 6. karśayantaḥ	karshayantaḥ, *a* and *b*	karshayantaḥ, Calc. B.G. and M.
c. xvii. d. 11. yashṭavyam	*a* and *b*, id.	yashtavya, Cod. Gotting.
c. xvii. d. 13. aśrishṭānnam	*a* and *b*, id.	amṛishṭānnam, Cod. Gotting.
c. xvii. d. 15. abhyāsanam	abhyasanam, *a* and *b*	abhyasanam, Calc. B.G. and M.
c. xvii. d. 17. tat	*a* and *b*, id.	tu, Cod. Gotting.
c. xviii. d. 12. tyāginām	*a* and *b*, id.	tyāgīnām, Calc. B.G.
c. xviii. d. 13. panchemāni	panchaitani, *a* and *b*	panchaitani, Calc. B.G.
c. xviii. d. 15. nyāyyam	nyāyam, *a* and *b*	nyāyam, P. Codd. B.C.D.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Bonn Edition.	*MSS. a and b.*	*Other Readings.*
c. xviii. d. 22. ahaitukam	*a* and *b*, id.	ahetukam(Madhusūdana)
c. xviii. d. 28. naishkṛitikaḥ	naikṛitikaḥ, *a* and *b*	naikṛitikaḥ, Calc. M. and scholiasts
c. xviii. d. 35. vimunchati	*a* and *b*, id.	vimunchanti, Calc. B.G.
c. xviii. d. 43. kshātram karma	*a* and *b*, id.	kshātrakarma, P. Cod. D.
...		kshatrakarma, P. Cod. B.
c. xviii. d. 44. gorakshya	*a* and *b*, id.	gaurakshya (Madhusūdana)
c. xviii. d. 64. driḍhamatistato	driḍhamitistato, *a*.	driḍhamatitato, P. Cod. B.D.
...	driḍhamatitato, *b*	driḍhastamitito, Calc. B.G.
c. xviii. d. 66. mochayishyāmi	mokshayishyāmi, *a* and *b*	mokshayishyāmi, Calc. B.G. and M.
c. xviii. d. 67. nātapaskāya	*a* and *b*, id.	atapasyāya (1st ed. Lassen)
c. xviii. d. 71. muktaḥ śubhallokān	*a* and *b*, id.	mukto'śubhallokān (Thomson, as an emendation).
c. xviii. d. 75. etadguhyamaham param	*a* and *b*, id.	etad guhyatamam param, Calc. M.
c. xviii. d. 78. bhūtirdruvānīti matir	bhūtirdruvānītirmatir, *a* bhūtirdruvanītimatir, *b* [1]	bhūtirdruvānītirmatir, Calc B. G. and all the P. Codices.

[1] This is undoubtedly the true reading, but the other is found in all MSS., I think, except the one marked *b*. If *nītir* were the true reading, then we must divide the sentence into *dhruvā nītiḥ* | *matir mama*, and translate *nīti* as "good conduct;" but *iti* certainly belongs to *matir*. Lassen says he would not accept any other arrangement if 600 MSS. were against it.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

NOTE.

WHILE this work was going through the press, the translation of the Bhagavad Gītā which K. T. Telang has prepared for Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East" came into my hands. It is much superior, I think, to the translation which he published in Bombay (1875), but it is based on a principle which will not be accepted by European scholars. "My aim has been," he writes, "to make the translation as close and literal a rendering as possible of the Gītā, as interpreted by the commentators Sankarācharya, Srīdharasvāmin, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. . . . In some places these commentators differ among themselves, and then I have made my own choice" (Introd., p. 35). I, too, have consulted Hindū commentators largely, but have found them deficient in critical insight, and more intent on finding or forming Vedāntist doctrines in every part than in giving the true sense of the author. I have examined their explanations with the freedom of inquiry that is common to Western habits of thought, and thus, while I have sometimes followed their guidance, I have been often obliged to reject their comments as misrepresenting the doctrines of the author. I append some instances of this kind, that my readers may be able to form their own judgment.

(1.) "When your mind, confounded by what you *have heard*, will stand firm and steady in contemplation" (ii. 53). Here the reference is to *śruti*, which means (1) hearing, (2) revelation, the sacred books. Hindū commentators say that the meaning is, what you have heard about the means of obtaining desirable things; assuming as a certain proposition that the Vedas could not be attacked. The doctrine of the Bhagavad Gītā is, however, that the devotee (*yogin*), when fixed in meditation, lays aside the Vedas and Vedic ritual. Lassen's version is, "Sententiis theologicis antea distracta quando mens," &c.

(2.) "Others perform the sacrifice . . . of *Vedic study*" (iv. 28). The word is *swādhyāya*, reading to one's self. There is no mention of the Vedas, and the author of the Bhagavad Gītā would probably have preferred the Yoga-sūtra of Patanjali.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

(3.) "Although he only wishes to learn devotion, he rises above the (fruits of action laid down in the) divine word" (vi. 44). This is the interpretation of Hindū commentators, but the words included between brackets are not in the text. This has only, "He rises above (or passes beyond) the Brahma-word," which here means the Vedas. "Il transgresse la doctrine brāhmanique" (Burnouf).

(4.) "The *offering* (of an oblation to any divinity) which is the cause of the production and development of all things is named action" (viii. 3). The word translated "offering," and explained as the offering of an oblation to a god, is *visarga*, which means the divine emanation into the varied forms of life, *i.e.*, the creation of the world, according to Hindū ideas. There is no reference to a gift, whether to gods or men. The interpretation given to the word in the Peters. Dict. is this: "Neben *sarga* (der primitiven Schöpfung durch Brahman) so v. a. secundäre Schöpfung, die Schöpfung im einselnen durch Purusha," and reference is made to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 10, 1, 3.

(5.) "Entering the earth, I by my power support all things, and becoming the *juicy moon*, I nourish all herbs" (xv. 13). The words translated "juicy moon" are in the original *soma* (*bhūtwa*) *rasātmakam*, (having become) savoury juice. "Conversus in succum, qui saporem iis impertit" (Lassen). There is no reason for supposing that the author of the Bhagavad Gītā believed the moon to be juicy, or that it had anything to do with the vegetation of plants. Brahma is said to nourish them by entering in the form of the sap, which is their life. *Soma* very seldom denotes the moon; it is generally (1) sap, (2) the sacred juice of the *Asclepias acida*.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

INDEX.

A.

Āchārya, tutor, 20 n.
Achyuta, epithet of Kṛishṇa, 29.
Action, what, 61.
Adhibhuta, title of Brahma, 94 n.
Adhidaiva, title of Brahma, 3, 94 n.
Adhiyajna, title of Brahma, 4, 94 n., 99.
Adhyātman, the Supreme Spirit, 3, 56, 94, 115, 137.
Aditya, name of the sun, 58, 112, 120.
Adyayana, meaning of, 127 n.
Adwaita, non-dualism, 6.
Agni, god of fire, 126.
Ahaṅkara, self-consciousness, 12, 13, 14, 56.
Ahura, Zend form of Asura, 103 n.
Airavata, the elephant of Indra, 114, 193.
Ajyam, what, 104 n.
Ākāśa, the ether, 12, 102.
Akshara, the Indivisible, 4.
Alexandria, a city where Hindūs were met, 195.
All-sustainer, title of Brahma, 95.
Alms, when good or bad, 164.
Ambrosial, remains of sacrifices, 63.
Amṛita, nectar of the gods, 133 n., 135, 147.
Anala, one of the Vasus, 113 n.
Ananda, referred to, 50 n., 61 n., 94 n., 100, 108, 149, 153, 157.
Ananta, the serpent on which Vishnu rests, 115, 124.
Anila, one of the Vasus, 113 n.
Anupeksha, meaning of, 134.
Apa, one of the Vasus, 113 n.
Apāna, downward breath, 15.
Arjuna, son of Indra, the third Pāndu prince, 1, 2, 20.
Ark, the ship in which Manu was saved during the deluge, 58 n.
Aryama, chief of the Pitris (fathers), 115.
Asakta, meaning of, 55.
Asannyasta-sankalpa, meaning of, 82.
Asat, what, 137 n., 165.
Asita, a rishi, 111.
Asuras, referred to, 17 n., 88, 103 n., 155, 162.
Aśwathāman, one of the Pāndu chiefs, 21.
Aśwattha, the sacred fig-tree, 114, 150.
Aświns, the twin, what, 120 n.
Ātatāyinas, what, 30.
Atharva-Veda, quoted, 193 n.
Ātmabodha, quoted, 8, 14 n.
Ātman, the soul, 13.
Atyartham, meaning of, 91.
Aushadha, meaning of, 104 n.
Avarta, *Avartin*, meaning of, 100.
Avaśa, meaning of, 100.
Avyakta, the Unmanifested, 7, 12, 89, 97 n., 131 n.

B.

Bali, the dwarf, 25 n.
Bardasanes, referred to, 196.
Bātsalya, meaning of, 192.
Bhāgavata Purāṇā, quoted, 85, 96 n., 116 n., 191.
Bhaktas, who they are, 89 n.
Bhakti, meaning of, 109.
Bhāshā, meaning of, 46, 194.
Bhāva, explanation of, 14.
Bhavān, explanation of, 21 n.
Bhīma, second son of Pāṇḍu, assigned to the god Vāyu, 1, 20.
Bhīshma, uncle of Pāṇḍu, 2, 21, 124.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Bhishma Parvan, sixth book of the Mahābhārata, 1.
Bhoktā, meaning of, 142.
Bhutas, demons, 106, 161.
Bonds of action, what, 37 n., 48.
Bossuet, quoted, 35 n.
Brahma, the Supreme Spirit, 5, 11, 94, 110, 111; may be known, 71; may be seen everywhere, 79; has no manifest form, 89.
Brahmā, the Supreme Spirit, as Creator, 95 n., 103 n., 111, 126; world of, 127 n.
Brahmaćarin, religious student, 77 n., 96, 163.
Brāhman, one of the first caste, 60 n.
Brahma-Purāna, quoted, 192.
Brahma Sutras, referred to, 141.
Brigu, chief of the rishis, 114.
Brihadarānyaka, quoted, 43 n.
Buddha, referred to, 111.
Buddhi, explanation of, 12, 13, 14; threefold division of, 171.
Buddhi-samyoga, meaning of, 84.
Buddhi-yoga, mental devotion, 10.
Burnouf, Prof., referred to, 16, 53 n., 66, 83, 84, 118.

C.

Calcutta Review, quoted, 199.
Castes, four, 60.
Chandragupta, referred to, 194.
Chārvākas, a very low class, materialists, 156; fall down to Naraka, 157.
Chekitana, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 20.
Chhandas, meaning of, 141.
Chhāndogna Upanishad, quoted, 6.
Childers' Pali Dictionary, referred to, 69 n.
Chitraratha, chief of the Gandharvas, 114.
Christianity, introduced early into India, 194, 197.
Chrysostom, St., quoted, 198.
City of nine gates, what, 70.
Claudius, embassy from India in time of, 195.
Clemens Alexandrinus, referred to, 196.
Clifford, Prof., referred to, 12.
Colebrooke, quoted, 26 n., 77 n.
Commodus, commerce with India in time of, 195.
Conditions of one born to a divine lot, 155.
Constancy, threefold division of, 172.
Cosmos Indicopleustes, referred to, 198.
Cow, object of veneration, 70.
Cowherd, Kṛishṇa brought up as, 25 n.
Custom, makes unpleasant things pleasant, 172.

D.

Daityas, an impious race, 115.
Dakshinā, meaning of, 163 n.
Dambha, meaning of, 160.
Dānavas, demons of the air, 112.
Dāsya, meaning of, 192.
Dāṭhavanśa, reference to, 29.
Davy, Sir H., quoted, 14 n.
Day of Brahma, 97 n.
Daytime, dying in, effect of, 98.
Denarii, found near Vellore, 195.
Desire, in living things, from Brahma, 87.
Devala, a ṛishi, 111.
Devas, the gods, 161.
Dharma, meaning of, 53 n., 176.
Difference of matter and spirit, 140.
Dion Cassius, reference to, 196.
Dog, object of contempt, 70.
Draupadī, wife of Yudishṭhira, 2.
Draupadī, daughter of Drupada, 2.
Dṛistaketu, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 20.
Dṛitarāshṭra, son of Vyasa, 1.
Drona, one of the Kuru chiefs, 32, 124.
Drupada, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 20.
Durasadam, meaning of, 57.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Duryodhana, son of Gāndhārī, 1, 19.
Duty, one's own, better than any other's, 53.
Dwandwa, meaning of, 39 n., 90 n., 115, 194.
Dwāpara-yoga, third age of the world, 59 n.

E.

Eating much, not the sign of a Yogin, 77.
Egg, the abode of Brahmā, 49 n.
Emanation, the Hindū term for creation, 150.
Eternal seed, a title of Brahmā, 87.
Ether (*Akaśa*), pervades all things, 140.
Evil, every enterprise surrounded by, 174.

F.

Faith in Brahma necessary, 133; is according to our nature, 161; is threefold, 161.
Fasting excessively, not the sign of a Yogin, 77.
Fichte, reference to, 4.
Fig-tree, sacred, 150. See *Aśwattha*.
Florus, reference to, 195.
Food, four kinds of, 152.
Freedom, what it is, 72.
Frequency of devotion, commended, 132.
Frequenting lonely places, 137.
Friend, each one of himself, 75.
Fruit of work in after life, threefold, 169.

G.

Gandhari, daughter of Subala, 1.
Gandharva-loka, what, 72 n.
Gaṇḍiva, name of Arjuna's bow, 25.
Garuda, the bird of Vishnu, 193.
God, not responsible for works, 70; revealed by knowledge, 70; the mighty Lord, 72; friend of all, 72.
Gods, nourished by sacrifice, 49; created beings, 89 n.; they who go to, go to them, 89.
Govinda, name of Kṛishṇa, 33.
Gudakaśa, name of Arjuna, 24, 30.
Guṇa, meaning of, 12, 15, 145.
Guru, spiritual guide, 33 n., 127.
Guyon, Madame, reference to, 10 n.

H.

Hari, name of Vishnu, 121, 177.
Harivanśa, quoted, 123 n.
Hastināpura, capital of the Kuru region, 1.
Havis, meaning of, 62 n.
Heart of man, wavering and unsteady, 78, 79.
Hegel, quoted, 105 n.
Himalaya, range of mountains, 114.
Himavat, name of mountain, 59 n.
Hindū commentators, referred to, 98 n., 105 n., 136 n., 165 n.
Hrid, meaning of, 100; supposed to be the seat of the soul, 175 n.
Hrishīkeśa, name of Kṛishṇa, 22, 29.
Humboldt, Prof. Von, referred to, 17, 144.
Huta, meaning of, 104 n.

I.

Ikshwaku, son of Manu, 58 n.
Inaction, what, 61.
Indica of Bardasanes, reference to, 196.
Indifference to all things, mark of a Yogin, 76, 77; restrains the heart; surmounts the Modes (*guṇas*), 145 n.
Indra, heaven of, 10, 106; father of Arjuna, 23 n.
Indraprastha, name of a city, 1 n.
Indriya, explanation of, 13.
Íśwara, the Supreme Spirit (Brahma), 79 n.

J.

Jambu-dwípa, what, 113 n.
Janaka, an ancient ṛishi, 50 n.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Janārdana, name of Kṛishṇa, 25, 30.
Japa-offering, what, 114 n.
Jati-dharma, meaning of, 31.
Jayadratha, king of the Sindhavas, 125.
Jīvabhūta, meaning of, 4, 7, 153.
Jñāna, meaning of, 57, 65, 76.
Jones, Sir William, quoted, 164 n.
Joy, boundless, known to the true Yogin, 78.
Justinian, embassy from India in time of, 195.

K.

Kalā, meaning of, 129.
Kalī, wife of Śiva, 189.
Kālidāsa, referred to, 190, 200.
Kali-yuga, the present age, 59 n.
Kalkin, name of the next *avatāra* of Vishnu, 59 n.
Kalpa, explanation of, 3, 15, 38 n., 96 n., 103, 138, 194.
Kāma, the Hindū Cupid, 193.
Kāmaduk, meaning of, 49 n., 55, 114.
Kandarpa, name of Kāma, 114.
Kanja-ja, name of Vishnu, 122.
Kapi-dwaja, epithet of Arjuna, 23 n.
Kapila, referred to, 3, 6, 11, 114, 162 n.
Karma, what, 94.
Karma-yoga, meaning of, 10.
Karṇa, one of the Kuru chiefs, 21, 124.
Kaśi, name of Benares, 21.
Kaṭha-Upanishad, quoted, 72 n.
Kavayas, meaning of, 65.
Keśava, name of Kṛishṇa, 30, 112, 125, 177.
Kinds of creatures, two, 156.
Knowledge, an ascetic rite, 60; excellence of, 63, 64; threefold division of, 171.
Kośa, explanation of, 14.
Kratu, meaning of, 104 n.
Kṛipa, one of the Kuru chiefs, 21.
Kṛishṇa, 3, 7, 101, 177; legend of, 199.
Kritakritya, meaning of, 154.
Krita-yuga, first age of the world, 59 n.
Kshara, the Divisible, 4, 99.
Kshatriya, name of the warrior-caste, 60 n.; work of, 173.
Kshetra, meaning of, 136, 141.
Kshetra-jña, a term for the soul, 136.
Kula-dharma, meaning of, 31.
Kullūka, reference to, 193.
Kunti, mother of Yudishṭhira, 23.
Kuntibhoja, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs,
Kuru, the ancestor of the contending parties, 1.
Kurukshetra, the Kuru region, 19 n.
Kuśa grass, 76.
Kūṭastha, meaning of, 83, 134, 154.
Kuvera, the Hindū god of wealth, 103 n.

L.

Lalita Vastara, reference to, 111.
Lamp, sheltered, Yogin compared to, 78.
Lassen, Prof., referred to, 16, 49 n., 53 n., 66, 92, 100, 104 n., 108, 134.
Law, eternal, seat of, 148.
Linga, explanation of, 5, 13.
Linga-sarira, what, 14 n.
Livy, quoted, 26 n.
Lokayatikas, doctrines of, 183.
Lola, meaning of, 155 n.
Lorinser, Dr., referred to, 64 n., 80 n., 92, 142, 181.
Lotus-leaf, comparison of, 69.

M.

Mādhava, name of Kṛishṇa, 22 n.
Madhusudana, quoted, 58 n.
Mādkūrya, meaning of, 192.
Mādrī, second wife of Pāṇḍu, 2.
Maffei, reference to, 197.
Mahābhārata, quoted, 1, 30, 50 n.,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

87 n., 88 n., 93, 103 n., 110 n., 154, 190, 198, 199.
Mahābhāshya of Patanjali, reference to, 182.
Mahābhūta, gross element, 12.
Mahāyuga, what, 15.
Makara, a fabulous sea-monster, 115, 193.
Manas, explanation of, 13, 100.
Mandara, a fabulous mountain, 115.
Manomaya, what, 14 n.
Mantra, meaning of, 124.
Mana, Institutes of, quoted, 13, 193 n., 26 n., 35 n., 49 n., 50 n., 51 n., 60 n., 62 n., 63 n., 77 n., 79 n., 85, 95 n., 103 n., 105 n., 106 n., 107 n., 111 n., 113 n., 127 n., 145, 152 n., 163 n., 193.
Manu, progenitor of mankind, 58 n.
Manwantara, what, 111 n.
Margasirsha, one of the months of the year, 116.
Marīci, chief of the Maruts, 113.
Maruts, the storm-gods, 120.
Mātra, meaning of 34 n.
Māyā, illusion, 7, 35 n., 88, 89.
Meditation on Brahma, effect of, 97.
Meru, a fabulous mountain, 113.
Metempsychosis, what, 6, 34, 88, 155 n.
Mīmānsā, the Vedantist doctrines, 6, 168.
Modes, action of, 138; threefold nature, 12, 145.
Modified forms of matter, 136.
Mohin, meaning of, 109.
Moksha, deliverance, 9.
Molinos, reference to, 10 n.
Moon, heaven of the, 72 n.
Moor's Hindū Pantheon, reference to, 122.
Muir's Sanskrit Texts, referred to, 29 n., 51 n., 59 n., 88 n., 123 n., 188.
Mukta, meaning of, 66.
Müller's Sanskrit Literature, referred to, 59 n.
Muni, a recluse, 9, 11.
Mystery, supreme, what, 176.

N.

Nakshatras, the twenty-seven lunar mansions, 113.
Nakula, son of Madrī, 2, 23.
Nala, references to, 91, 192.
Nārada, a ṛishi, 111.
Naraka, the Hindū hell, 80 n.
Nature (*Prakṛiti*), without beginning, 138.
Nectar, banquet of, 133.
Nidhāna, meaning of, 129,
Nimittani, explanation of, 30.
Niraśrayas, meaning of, 65.
Nirukta, reference to the, 112 n.
Nirvāṇa, explanation of, 17 n., 71, 43 n., 60 n.
Northern solstice, dying in, 98.

O.

Odour, in earth, is a part of Brahmā, 114.
One with Brahmā is the Yogin, 78.
Om, meaning and use of, 28, 96.
Organs of action, what, 48.
Orosius, reference to, 196.
Oval eyes, beautiful, 120.

P.

Padma Purāṇa, reference to, 192.
Pairs of opposites, what, 62.
Pañchajanya, name of trumpet, 22.
Pāṇḍavas, followers of Pāṇḍa, 2.
Pantœnus, sent by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, to instruct the Brāhmans, 97.
Para, meaning of, 97 n.
Param, meaning of, 55.
Paramātman, the Supreme Spirit, 7, 82.
Parigraha, meaning of, 83, 179.
Pātāla, section of Padma Purāṇa, 192.
Patañjali, referred to, 3, 8, 47 n., 81 n., 86 n., 94 n., 162 n., 176 n., 182.
Pātra, meaning of, 166.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Pāvaka, one of the Vasus, 113.
Petersburgh Dictionary, quoted, 30, 66, 74, 83, 105 n., 149.
Phala, meaning of, 10.
Pisāchas, demons, 72 n.
Pitris, heaven of, 27 n., 72 n., 106, 110.
Plato, quoted, 42 n., 43 n., 63 n., 81 n., 105 n.
Pleasure, threefold division of, 172.
Pleasures born of worldly contacts, what, 71.
Pliny, referred to, 195.
Prabāla, meaning of, 153.
Prabhāva, meaning of, 141.
Prahlada, chief of the Daityas, 115.
Prajāpati, title of Brahma, 55, 130.
Prakrita, meaning of, 178.
Prakriti, explanation of, 6, 11, 13, 15, 34 n., 52, 65, 102, 103, 138, 144.
Prāṇa, breathing, 15, 66.
Praṇava, expression for OM, 91.
Prānāyana, meaning of, 63 n.
Pravritti, meaning of, 129, 153, 156.
Pretas, a foul kind of demons, 161.
Priaulx, Mr., quoted, 198.
Prithā, wife of Pāṇḍu, 1.
Purāṇas, referred to, 13, 188.
Purujit, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 21.
Purusha, explanation of, 4, 7, 95 n., 129.
Pyrrhonists of India, who, 183.

R.

Rāghavendra, quoted, 79 n., 137 n.
Rajas, the second *guṇa* or mode, 12.
Rajarshis, royal ṛishis, 107 n.
Rajendra-lala, quoted, 117.
Rakshasas, demons, 72 n., 103 n., 161.
Rāmāyana, references to, 25 n., 103 n., 112 n., 115.
Ram Krishṇa Baṇḍarker, reference to, 182.
Renunciation of works, 68.
Repose, perfect, gained by Yogin, 78.
Reverence to gods and Brahmans enjoined, 163.
Rig-Veda, quoted, 29, 95 n., 103 n., 105 n., 112 n., 116 n., 123 n.
Rishis referred to, 71, 110.
Roth, Prof., reference to, 60 n.
Row of pearls, a metaphor of Brahma, 87.
Rudras, storm-gods, 120.

Ś.

Saivya, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 21.
Sakuni, skilful dice-player, 2.
Sakuntalā, reference to, 30.
Sankara, commentary of, quoted, 17, 50 n., 53 n., 55, 63 n., 66, 80 n., 94 n., 97 n., 104 n., 106 n., 107 n., 108, 127 n., 134, 148, 155 n., 160, 164, 167, 170 n., 173 n., 174 n., 177, 185.
Siva, the god, 53 n., 81 n.
Sloka, explanation of, 16.
Śrāddha, meaning of, 26 n., 64 n.
Śrīdhara, commentary of, quoted, 17, 48 n., 52 n., 63 n., 66, 83, 84, 91, 92, 97 n., 100, 101, 104 n., 107 n., 119, 127 n., 134, 142, 149, 153, 155 n., 160, 164, 167, 170, 173, 174 n., 177, 178.
Śrimat, meaning of, 80 n.
Śruti, meaning of, 40 n., 94 n.
Śūdra, name of the lowest caste, 60 n., 107 n.
Sukla, meaning of, 100.
Śwapāka, a degraded class, 70.
Śwetāśwatara Upanishad, quoted, 13, 59 n.

S.

Sacrifice, by various means, 62; of knowledge, 104; what kind is vain, 157, 162.
Sādhyas, an order of inferior gods, 123.
Sagamo, a Hindū king, 197.
Sage, ancient, epithet of Brahma, 95.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Sahadeva, son of the second wife of Pāṇḍu, 2, 23.
Sākya, meaning of, 192.
Samāna, collective breath, 15.
Sama Veda, references to, 113, 193.
Sanaka, one of the mind-born sons of Brahma, 110 n.
Sananda, do.
Sanatana, do.
Sanatkumara, do.
Sanga, meaning of, 10, 46.
Sannyāsa, true, what is, 11, 168.
Sansiddhi, meaning of, 173 n.
Sānta, meaning of, 192.
Saptarshi, the constellation Ursa Major, 123.
Sarasvati, name of a river, 19.
Sat, meaning of, 105, 137 n.; when used, 165.
Satasgopa, epithet of Agni, 105 n.
Sattwa, one of the *guṇas* or modes, 12.
Saumadatti, one of the Kuru chiefs, 21.
Schlegel, quoted, 30.
Scythianus, history of, 196.
Siddhas, deified mortals, 123.
Skanda, god of war, 114.
Smṛiti, meaning of, 40 n., 94 n., 180.
Soma, the moon, 113 n.
Soul, immortality of, 5, 34; never acts, 52; each a part of Brahma, 151.
Southern solstice, time of, bad time to die in, 98.
Speech, threefold division of, 163.
Stithi, meaning of, 167.
Subala, king of Gāndhāra, 1.
Supreme Being, one, 4; not worshipped, 72 n.; represented by Vishnu or Kṛishṇa, 72 n.; soul may be one with, 71.
Sūra, father of Pṛithā, 1.
Suras, a class of inferior gods, 110, 122 n.
Sūrya, the sun, 140 n.
Swabhāva, explanation of, 3, 99.
Swadhā, meaning of, 104 n.
Swādhyāya, meaning of, 159.

T.

Tamas, one of the *guṇas* or modes, 12.
Tanmātra, subtle element, 12.
Tanu, use of the word, 92.
Tapas, meaning of, 60 n., 65, 91, 162.
Tat, when used, 165.
Tatparya Bodhinī, referred to, 17.
Telang, references to, 50 n., 57, 61 n., 67, 79 n., 91, 100, 142, 181.
Thomson, Mr., references to, 14 n., 16 n., 49 n., 50 n., 69 n., 75 n., 83, 92, 97 n., 100, 104 n., 108, 119, 142.
Thought to be restrained, 78.
Threefold gate of hell, 157.
Traders bring information from India, 196.
Trajan, embassy from India in time of, 195.
Treta-yuga, second age of the world, 59 n.
Tyaga, meaning of, 11, 168.

U.

Ućchihśravas, the horse of Indra, 114, 193.
Udāna, meaning of, 15.
Union of matter and spirit, 139.
Unmanifested, The, 131 n.
Unseen path, hard to gain, 131.
Uśana, teacher of the Asuras, 116.
Ushmapas, a class of *pitris*, 123.
Uttamanjas, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 21.
Uttamavid, meaning of, 148.

V.

Vainateya, the bird of Vishnu, 115.
Vaiśya, name of the third caste, 60 n., 107 n.; work of, 173.
Valhalla, reference to, 32 n.
Varshneya, name of Kṛishṇa, 26.
Varuna, as god of waters, 115, 126, 193.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Vāsava, a name of Indra, 113.
Vāsudeva, a name of Kṛishṇa, 88 n.
Vāsuki, king of serpents in *Pātāla*, 114.
Vasus, a class of inferior gods, 113, 120.
Vaya Purāṇa, reference to, 111 n.
Vāyu (air), one of the gross elements, 12.
Vedanta, referred to, 152.
Vedas, referred to, 96; holy books, 106; ordained by Brahma, 165.
Via Lactea, path of departed spirits, 27 n.
Vibhaga, meaning of, 52 n.
Vibhu, the mighty Lord, 5.
Vibhuti, meaning of, 117, 194.
Videha (incorporeal), a state of abstraction, 9.
Viguna, meaning of, 56.
Vijñāna, meaning of, 57, 76.
Vijñāna-Maya, what, 14.
Vikāra, meaning of, 142.
Vikarna, one of the Kuru chiefs, 21.
Virāta, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 20.
Visarga, meaning of, 94 n.
Vishama, explanation of, 44.
Vishnu, the god next to Brahma in the Hindū triad, 25 n.
Vishnu Purāṇa, references to, 32 n., 89 n., 96 n., 111 n., 114 n., 115 n., 145 n., 183.
Vitteśa, a name of Kuvera, the god of wealth, 113.
Vivāha (marriage) laudable, 165 n.
Vivaswat, a name of the sun, 58.
Vṛihaspati, chief of household priests, 114.
Vṛihatsāman, a hymn of the Sama Veda, 116.
Vritra, son of Danu, 112 n.
Vyakta, the Manifested, 12, 131 n.
Vyakti, meaning of, 118.
Vyāsa, a representative person, to whom is ascribed the composition or compilation of many books, including the Mahābhārata, 1.

W.

Waning moon, dying in time of, 98.
Wavering, fate of the, 80.
Waxing moon, dying in time of, 98.
Ways, two, of light and darkness, 98.
Weber, Prof., referred to, 182, 198, 199; compares the Kṛishṇa legend with life of Christ, 199, 200.
Wise man is part of Brahma, 88.
Women cannot perform any religious rite, 107 n.
Work, when a right means, 75; not to be given up wholly, 169; divine part of, 170.
Works, fruit of, not to be sought, 39, 132; done for Brahma lead to *nirvāṇa*, 132; not wrought by Brahma, 70.
World conquered, by whom, 70.
Worlds, the three, 25; eight upper worlds, 72; all return again to Brahma at the end of a *kalpa*, 96.

Y.

Yādava, name of Kṛishṇa, 126.
Yakshas, demons, 72 n., 161.
Yajna, meaning of, 48 n., 104 n.
Yama, judge of the dead, 115, 126.
Yamunā, former name of the river Jumna, 1 n., 19 n.
Yavanānī, meaning of, 194 n.
Yoga, explanation of, 3, 34 n., 78, 139 n., 177, 194.
Yogakshema, meaning of, 46.
Yogin, devotee, 10, 75, 76, 78; position of, 77; rises above Vedic rites, 85, 187.
Yudhāmanyu, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 21.
Yudishṭhira, eldest of the sons of Kuntī, 1, 23.
Yuga, meaning of, 96 n.
Yukta, meaning of, 77.
Yuvarāja, what, 1.
Yuyudhāna, one of the Pāṇḍu chiefs, 20.

BALLANTYNE PRESS: EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

FEB 1 1944	10Oct'58HJ
FEB 2 1944	
	REC'D LD
AUG 16 1944	DEC 26 1958
	25Oct'60MM
MAY 20 1948	
	REC'D LD
15Oct'46EB	JAN 31 1961
Nov 15	
28Mar'49PS	APR 22 1969
Feb 8'51MT	
6May'57LS	AUTO. DISC.
REC'D LD	JUN 13 1989
APR 25 1957	

LD 21-100m-7,'40(6936s)

Univ Calif - Digitized by Internet Archive

YC 54564

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES

C006099679

730
M214
bEd

136154

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®